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# ***Daily Report***

# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-93-186  
Tuesday  
28 September 1993

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-*AFR*-93-186

### CONTENTS

28 September 1993

**NOTICE TO READERS:** An \* indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

#### CENTRAL AFRICA

##### Central African Republic

President-Elect Patasse Gives Address to Nation [ <i>Bangui Radio</i> ] .....	1
Former 'Emperor' Makes First Appearance Since Release [ <i>AFP</i> ] .....	2

##### Chad

Premier Criticizes President Over Transition Charter [ <i>AFP</i> ] .....	2
Rapprochement Reported Between President, Premier [ <i>Libreville Radio</i> ] .....	2
Patriotic Salvation Movement Issues Communique on Events [ <i>Ndjamena Radio</i> ] .....	3

##### Zaire

Monsengwo: Last 'Small Disagreements' Need 'Sorting Out' [ <i>Kinshasa TV</i> ] .....	3
---	---

#### EAST AFRICA

##### Djibouti

President on National Union Government, Army Reductions [ <i>AFP</i> ] .....	4
--	---

##### Eritrea

Afewerki, Ethiopian Prime Minister Open Session [ <i>Addis Ababa Radio</i> ] .....	4
President Discusses Ties, Somalia With UK's Chalker [ <i>Asmara Radio</i> ] .....	4

##### Ethiopia

Britain Pledges 5 Million Pounds To Aid Economy [ <i>PANA</i> ] .....	5
---	---

##### Kenya

Foreign Minister, UK's Chalker Discuss Aid, Refugees [ <i>Nairobi Radio</i> ] .....	5
Police Detain 61 for Ethnic Violence in Rift Valley [ <i>London International</i> ] .....	5

##### Somalia

Pro-Aidid Radio Claims Pakistanis 'Massacred' Civilians [ <i>Voice of the Great Somali People</i> ] .....	6
SSNM Chairman Supports UN, Urges Aidid To Halt Actions [ <i>Voice of the Somali Republic</i> ] .....	6

#### REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Buthulezi Urges Establishment of Armed Zulu Units [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	7
De Klerk Reacts to Remarks [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	7
ANC Urges Zulus To Ignore Call [ <i>Johannesburg Radio</i> ] .....	8
NP, DP Responses Reported [ <i>Johannesburg Radio</i> ] .....	8
Inkatha MP Justifies Units [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	8
Zulu King Delivers Address at Shaka Celebrations [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	8
Appeals for End to Violence [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	10
Home Minister: KwaZulu Should Have Own Constitution [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	10
Mandela Calls On Right Wing To Reject Civil War [ <i>SUNDAY STAR 26 Sep</i> ] .....	10
Mandela, Israeli Foreign Minister Meet in New York [ <i>Johannesburg Radio</i> ] .....	11
Mokaba: ANC To Attain Power by 'Ballot or Bullet' [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	11
ANC Said To Drop Call for Simple Majority on Constitution [ <i>BUSINESS DAY 27 Sep</i> ] .....	11
ANC Deputy President Addresses Zulu Cultural Festival [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	12
ANC To Support 'Credible Forces' in Ousting Ciskei Head [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	13
ANC Adopts Code of Conduct on Financial Interests [ <i>WEEKLY MAIL &amp; GUARDIAN 24-30 Sep</i> ] .....	13
APLA Commander Interviewed; May Fire on MK Members [ <i>SUNDAY NATION 26 Sep</i> ] .....	14
ANC Issues Response to 'Threats' [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	15
PAC To Demand Joint Control of Security Forces [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	15
Volksfront Official Comments on Talks With ANC [ <i>SAPA</i> ] .....	16

Viljoen Interviewed on Afrikaner Front's Objectives [THE STAR 27 Sep]	16
CP Leader Discusses Preventing April Election [SAPA]	18
Pik Botha Says Several Countries Seek Diplomatic Ties [Johannesburg Radio]	19
Commonwealth Said To Lift Remaining Economic Sanctions [Johannesburg TV]	19
KwaNdebele Accounts Show 'Serious Irregularities' [SAPA]	19
Homelands Debt Stands at 14.2 Trillion Rands [SUNDAY STAR 26 Sep]	19
Finance Minister: All Figures Indicate Recovery [SAPA]	20
Commission: 554 Killed in August Political Violence [SAPA]	20
South African Press Review for 28 Sep [THE STAR 28 Sep, etc]	21
* Parties, Readiness for Elections Viewed [LEADERSHIP 1993]	21

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### Angola

Sao Tome's Trovoadas in Luanda for Talks on Peace Process	24
Carries Savimbi Message on Meeting [Lisbon Radio]	24
Meets With President Dos Santos [Luanda TV]	24
UN's Blondin Beye Says Fighting Stopped in Cuito [London International]	24
Correspondent Reports UNITA Continues To Besiege Cuito [Luanda Radio]	24
Foreign Minister Comments on UN Resolution, Situation [Lisbon EXPRESSO 18 Sep]	25

### Mozambique

Chissano Addresses UN Assembly on Elections, Army [Maputo Radio]	26
--	----

### Swaziland

Nominated Ministers Through to Next Round of Elections	
[THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND 27 Sep]	26
Good Turnout at 'Peaceful' Voting [Mbabane Radio]	27
Premier Outlines Policy Guidelines for New Government [Mbabane Radio]	27
Council of Ministers To Dissolve 30 Sep [THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND 28 Sep]	27

## WEST AFRICA

### Benin

Soglo Returns From Trip, Comments on CFA Devaluation [Cotonou Radio]	28
--	----

### Ghana

Rawlings Discusses Transition With Sierra Leonean Team [Accra Radio]	28
Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Readmits Country [Accra Radio]	28

### Mali

Government Spokesman Assures Against CFA Devaluation [Bamako Radio]	29
---	----

### Nigeria

Abiola Says Shonekan Military 'Tool,' Backs Free Media [AFP]	29
Social Democratic Party Legislators Hold Conference	30
Some Members Refuse To Attend [Lagos TV]	30
Senate President Addresses Group [Lagos Radio]	30
Appeal to Abiola for Dialogue [AFP]	30

## Central African Republic

### President-Elect Patasse Gives Address to Nation

AB2709231393 Bangui Radiodiffusion-Television  
Centrafricaine Radio in French 1800 GMT 27 Sep 93

[Speech by President-elect Ange Felix Patasse in Bangui on 27 September—live or recorded]

[Text] Central African men and women, dear compatriots, the time of our victory—your victory—has come, thanks to long-awaited democracy. Yes, we all struggled diligently to see this day come. You have just elected me president of the Republic. I very sincerely thank you, and may God bless this alliance. Today I am president of all Central African men and women without exception, and as such, I will see to the protection of life and property. There will be no witch hunts. That is why I am addressing you, peasants, laborers, civil servants, entrepreneurs, employees, pupils and students, Central African youth—the spearhead of our national liberation struggle—all Central African religious communities, foreigners residing in Central Africa, and the national media, which will henceforth play a leading role in democratic expression.

To you, all Central African men and women, I say forget about personal interests, tribalism, and regionalism. Let us rather join our efforts to reconstruct the Central African Republic [CAR], our dear and beautiful country, which currently is in an unprecedented state of ruin.

You, valiant Central African soldiers, gendarmes, and policemen, I congratulate you for your spirit of sacrifice and your vigilance during the electoral process. I encourage you to be extra vigilant during this risky transition phase. Yes, we are aware of your difficulties, but be assured that the next government will do everything possible to immediately solve the problem of your allowance.

You, civil servants, I can also assure you that the next government will strive to equitably resolve your salary problems, because your salaries must be paid. That is why, as soon as it assumes office, the new government will immediately open negotiations with all your delegates so that together solutions acceptable to all can be found within the framework of this far-reaching and difficult national reconstruction program.

I sincerely thank President Andre Kolingba and Prime Minister Enoch Derant-Lakoue, who honored their promise by fully implementing the electoral process. The Central African nation will not fail to be grateful to them. I congratulate the joint Electoral Commission, which spared no efforts so that the Central African people, strongly committed to true change, can at last express themselves sovereignly and serenely. How can we not rejoice over the credibility restored to our judicial system by the laudable work done by the plenary session of the Supreme Court? Our thanks go to the Supreme Court for its independence and loyalty in the vote counting and in the proclamation of the results of these elections.

I solemnly pledge to do more for justice so that justice can be independent and sovereign. I take this opportunity to affirm that all former heads of state will be treated with respect—and the same goes for political party leaders—in order to make the country's political situation more dynamic. I extend my sincere congratulations to my brother, Abel Goumba, for having accepted the political struggle and the election results. May all those who worked with him rest assured that I am holding out a brotherly hand to them so that together we can strengthen our democratic gains in the interest of the people as a whole.

Central African men and women, fellow countrymen, you are all one people. From north to south, east to west, we have all fought the same democratic fight. We were proud for having become responsible people because with dignity we have promoted the CAR to the rank of a democratic country and thus recovered our lost dignity.

Central African men and women, despite our differences, I say let us remain united, because this unity is our force and our greatest asset in the face of developmental challenges. With unity we can move mountains. Fellow countrymen, as of today, Patasse, hailing from a family, an ethnic group, and a region, no longer belongs to his family, his ethnic group, and his region. He belongs to the entire Central African people, who have placed their trust in him.

Comrade activists of the Central African people's Liberation Movement, our party's victory is that of the whole nation. You have no right to confiscate it. I forbid you to mock those who do not belong to our party, because we have struggled for a long time and suffered physically for freedom and national concord. We cannot therefore impose dictatorship and hatred. Hold out brotherly hands to all those who do not share the same opinion, because without them, we would be handicapped. Learn to forgive those who have offended and oppressed you, and you will be rewarded a hundredfold.

Central African men and women, fellow countrymen, once again, I ask you to remain calm. Celebrate your victory without fuss or acts of vandalism, because your country has sunk very, very low and we have no right to destroy the little we have left. We need to preserve the chances of a rapid economic recovery.

I take this opportunity to thank, once again, the ambassadors of friendly countries accredited to Bangui and international observers for their positive contribution to the success of the CAR's electoral process. I also want to thank the international press, which witnessed the maturity of the Central African people.

The Central African people are deeply indebted to the French Government. That is why, on the occasion of the announcement of the election results, I ask France, on



behalf of the CAR people as a whole, to reestablish the France-CAR cooperation that was suspended a few weeks ago. Long live the Republic!

### **Former 'Emperor' Makes First Appearance Since Release**

*AB2609141093 Paris AFP in English 1345 GMT 26 Sep 93*

[Text] Bangui, Sept 26 (AFP)—The former self-styled emperor of the Central African Republic, Jean-Bedel Bokassa, made his first public appearance on Sunday since his release from prison September 1. Bokassa, who had been imprisoned for six years on charges ranging from cannibalism to murder, appeared at an outdoor church service in the capital wearing his full dress uniform.

Some 4,000 people cheered the former dictator, who thanked the crowd and the pastor of the church, Our Lady of Fatima, for their support.

Bokassa, 72, was ousted in a 1979 coup backed by French military troops. He went into exile in France and later in the Cote d'Ivoire but returned to Bangui in 1986 to face charges of murder, torture, embezzlement, and cannibalism.

He was sentenced to death in June 1987 but his conviction was later commuted to 20 years hard labour, and last December the sentence was further reduced to 10 years.

He was released September 1 as part of a national amnesty for prisoners.

## **Chad**

### **Premier Criticizes President Over Transition Charter**

*AB2609094393 Paris AFP in French 1303 GMT 25 Sep 93*

[Text] Ndjamen, 25 Sep (AFP)—Chadian Prime Minister Fidel Moungar has accused President Idriss Deby of refusing to abide by the Transition Charter, which will lead to a democratic regime. A number of political parties have asked the two men to "put an end to their quarrels."

The prime minister, who made a radio and television broadcast on 24 September, publicly talked about a crisis between the head of state and himself for the time following the dismissal of the finance minister by the head of state.

Moungar announced that the new finance minister would be appointed on 25 September and added that the crisis between him and the head of state was triggered by the "absence of democratic tradition" in Chad.

"The real causes behind this institutional crisis are the refusal by the head of state to abide by the Transition Charter and the obstruction in the implementation of the terms of reference" drawn up by the Sovereign National Conference [CNS] that took place from January to May.

Rejecting the accusations of being an "amateur" launched against him by President Deby, Moungar stressed that he intended to "implement the recommendations made by the CNS rigorously and in the strictest regard for the Transition Charter."

He said that he will propose to the government in the coming days the setting up of a communications high council that will be in charge of managing the principle of freedom of the press and opinion in conformity with the CNS recommendations and thus "ending censorship." He also announced the upcoming creation of a national human rights commission and the setting up of a constitutional commission in charge of drafting a constitution and an electoral code.

For their part, 24 opposition parties have denounced in a common communique published on 24 September the incapacity of President Deby and Prime Minister Moungar to "transcend their divergences and their emotions for the benefit of the supreme interests of the nation." The disagreement that exists between President Deby and Prime Minister Moungar constitutes "an unacceptable deadlock in the smooth functioning of the democratic transition period" the parties said. They called on the two leaders to "put an end to this comedy that does not honor either their posts or the Republic."

### **Rapprochement Reported Between President, Premier**

*AB2709131793 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1230 GMT 26 Sep 93*

[Text] In Chad, relations between the head of state and the prime minister that were strained again after Amos Reoulingar's appointment as finance minister are returning to normal. Prime Minister Fidel Moungar says he is determined to work in close collaboration with Idriss Deby to save the transition. He hinted that they have both endeavored to resolve the crisis between them. Let us listen to Fidel Moungar talking to Jean-Claude Medome:

[Begin Moungar recording] Despite the anger and intolerance of the first days, the head of state and myself, thanks to the mediation of several components of the nation, have narrowed our viewpoints with a view to saving the transition. This corresponds to the fundamental aspirations of our entire people to eschew our personal selfishness.

As far as I am concerned, I pledge to make the necessary efforts for the return of trust as it seems indispensable for the future stages. I therefore intend to scrupulously implement the recommendations of the sovereign

national conference in the strict respect of the Transitional Charter. I have informed the head of state and the Higher Transitional Council of my desire to reshuffle the cabinet as soon as possible in order to give the country a more coherent and interdependent team that is concerned about the general interest. I reiterate my adherence to the project of regular consultations on national policies among the brotherly organizations of the transition so that our country can prevent and stifle the dangers threatening it. [end recording]

#### **Patriotic Salvation Movement Issues Communiqué on Events**

*AB2709210593 Ndjamena Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 1900 GMT 26 Sep 93*

[Text] Like all the political parties that have reacted to the institutional crisis, the Patriotic Salvation Movement [MPS] has issued a press communiqué in which it commended the efforts made by of political party leaders to establish dialogue between the president and the prime minister of the transition. The MPS, however, did not stop at expressing satisfaction with the effort made by the various sides to find [words indistinct] solutions.

In a press communiqué, the MPS stressed that the prime minister's statement questioned the compromise reached after many interventions and remarked that the prime minister's statement was in opposition to the one made by the president of the Republic. The MPS therefore condemns the attitude of a group of political parties that instead of working for peace, is trying to compromise it through irresponsible and antinational stands.

The MPS concluded its press communiqué by saying that by taking the national and international opinion to witness, the explanation of the prime minister and his entourage of friends, this explanation, the MPS appeals to all patriots and parties for vigilance in order to forestall any action that tends to question the gains of 1 December 1992, which are national reconciliation, national unity, freedom, peace, and democracy. [sentence as heard]

#### **Zaire**

#### **Monsengwo: Last 'Small Disagreements' Need 'Sorting Out'**

*LD2709215193 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1900 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Interview with Monsignor Monsengwo Pasinya, chairman of the High Council of the Republic, with unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] According to the most recent information, all the reports were examined last night, and we are, therefore, in the process of sorting out the last small disagreements that remain, and this is what the plenary session will be doing today. You should wait for the negotiators' news conference.

[Correspondent] Does the fact that you are travelling, Monsignor, mean that it will only be possible to sign the agreements on your return?

[Monsengwo] Well, in any case, I am returning in three days. I have a three-day meeting in Rome, so I will be returning on Friday. Before then there is time to draw up the final report, if they agree. There is also time to draw up a draft agreement. I would be surprised if they do this in less than three days.

[Correspondent] You made some proposals to a particularly active and lucky colleague this morning. Is there a possibility that these proposals could be accepted by both sides?

[Monsengwo] Which proposals? It is not me who is negotiating. I gave my opinion in light of what I had learned, but it is up to the negotiators to negotiate and give us the proposals, without my friends hindering them.

[Correspondent] [question indistinct]

[Monsengwo] If they accept. If they find them reasonable, they could accept them.

**Djibouti****President on National Union Government, Army Reductions***AB2409093093 Paris AFP in French 1435 GMT 23 Sep 93*

[Text] Djibouti, 23 Sep (AFP)—The president of the Republic, Hassan Gouled Aptidon, dismissed the possibility of forming a national union government and announced that a demobilization plan was being prepared for the Army.

Rumors about an eventual formation of a national union government "seem to be far removed from reality," the Djibouti leader disclosed in an interview with the local press. Recent discussions held behind the scenes in Paris and Addis Ababa last July and August between government officials and representatives of the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy [FRUD] did not lead to the start of direct negotiations between the two sides.

According to reports in the Djibouti capital, the rumors were sparked by a vague sign of agreement between the government and the FRUD, which started an armed rebellion in November 1991. Moreover, the Djibouti leader announced an eventual decrease in the size of the Army over time while keeping in mind that the country's defense is a national duty. Since the FRUD launched its offensive, the national Army has been increased from 3,000 to 15,000 men. This reinforcement has notably enabled the Army to inflict a series of defeats on the Afar rebels since the beginning of this year.

Djibouti has signed defense agreements in the event of external aggression with France, the former colonial power which has 4,000 soldiers based in Djibouti. Relations between France and Djibouti are "longstanding and deeply entrenched," he stated, after stressing that his country "has no motive for dissatisfaction with France." He emphasized that "Djibouti will never be the root cause of a break in relationship with Paris."

The French minister delegate for humanitarian action and human rights, Lucette Michaux-Chevry, today in Paris expressed her "concern" about seeing the chairman of the Djibouti Human Rights and Liberties Association, Mohamed Houmed Soule, continue to freely perform his functions as the association's chairman. Soule, who is an Afar, has been in detention since a week for denouncing the atrocities committed by the Djibouti Government security forces against Afars in the north of the country.

Amnesty International on 20 September denounced the "serious human rights violations, rapes, torture, and summary executions by Djibouti's security forces." It also reported that "dozens of civilians" belonging to "the Afar tribe, who had been shot," had been subjected to these atrocities. The Djibouti Government today described these accusations as "baseless" and said they formed part of a "disinformation and defamation" campaign "aimed at destabilizing Djibouti."

**Eritrea****Afewerki, Ethiopian Prime Minister Open Session***EA2309202693 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1000 GMT 23 Sep 93*

[Excerpts] The first meeting of the Ethiopia-Eritrea Joint Ministerial Commission opened today at the Selam Hotel in Asmara. According to Teferi Legese's report from Asmara, the meeting was officially opened by Eritrean President Isayas Afewerki:

[Begin Teferi recording] The joint ministerial meeting of the two countries opened this morning, and Eritrean President Isayas Afewerki delivered a message, which noted that the relationship between the people of the two countries—which was for years based on hatred, fighting and destruction—had now, with the efforts of the two governments, opened a new chapter not only for the people of Ethiopia and Eritrea, but also for those of Africa as a whole. He said the Eritrean Government was ready and willing to move from this new chapter to an even better stage.

Representing Ethiopia, Prime Minister Tamirat Layne made an opening speech and noted that when we say we are now in our second country, we are not using mere diplomatic jargon, but are saying it with real feeling. He said no one had thought that these two peoples could call each other brothers and sisters after the 30 years of fighting between them, or could solve their problems in such a short period. [passage omitted] [end recording]

The delegations of the two countries continued their meetings behind closed doors.

**President Discusses Ties, Somalia With UK's Chalker***EA2409121593 Asmara Voice of the Broad Masses of Eritrea in Amharic 1500 GMT 23 Sep 93*

[Excerpt] President Isayas Afewerki met and held talks with the British minister for overseas development, Lynda Chalker. During their talks in the president's office, which lasted more than an hour, the two sides exhaustively discussed bilateral relations, the situation in the Horn of Africa, and the Somali problem in particular.

Chalker, after noting that the British Government has given Eritrea food and technical assistance worth 14 million pounds in the past 14 years, said that the British Government is ready to expand further its assistance to Eritrea.

President Isayas, for his part, after thanking the British Government for its assistance, noted that although the Eritrean people have suffered a lot over the past 35 years, there are a lot of things to which the Eritrean Government will give priority in rehabilitating Eritrea and so it needs great assistance from the international community.

The two sides also discussed constitutional affairs, self sufficiency in food, the return of refugees and the Eritrean Government's programs.

Chalker also met and held talks with Eritrean Agriculture Minister Dr. Tesfay Girma Tsion. During their meeting, Chalker noted that the British Government is ready to cooperate in technical sectors and signed an agreement to dispatch a technical team to Eritrea. The agreement was signed by Berhane (Abrehe), from the Office of the President, and Chalker on behalf of the British Government. [passage omitted]

## Ethiopia

### Britain Pledges 5 Million Pounds To Aid Economy

AB2209222593 Dakar PANA in English 1716 GMT  
22 Sep 93

[Text] Addis Ababa, 22 Sep (PANA)—Britain is to give Ethiopia a further five million pounds (about 7.5 million U.S. dollars) to help the country's economy get moving. The money is in addition to an earlier 10 million pounds (about 15 million dollars) Britain has given to Ethiopia after the liberalization of the country's economy. Lynda Chalker, the British minister of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs and minister for overseas development, said in Addis Ababa Wednesday [22 September].

She told a press conference that Britain would in 1993 give Ethiopia an additional 14.5 million pounds (about 21.75 million dollars) in humanitarian assistance. This would bring to 120 million pounds (about 180 million dollars) total British aid to Ethiopia since 1991.

Chalker praised the efforts of Ethiopia's government to revive the country's economy and said Britain would work in partnership with Ethiopia to sustain growth in its economy. She was to leave for Eritrea Thursday, where she said she would discuss cooperation with the new state ravaged by 30 years of war.

## Kenya

### Foreign Minister, UK's Chalker Discuss Aid, Refugees

EA2809101593 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting  
Corporation Network in English 0400 GMT 28 Sep 93

[Excerpt] The UK minister for overseas development, Baroness Lynda Chalker, yesterday paid tribute to His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi for his efforts in seeking a peaceful solution to the problem in southern Sudan, where the Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Development [IGADD] heads of state have mandated him to chair the peace process. Baroness Chalker said this at a meeting in her office with the minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr. Kalonzo Musyoka, who stopped over in London for a short visit on his way to New York, where he is scheduled to address the UN General Assembly on 1 October 1993.

She expressed Britain's satisfaction and support for security measures taken by the Kenya Government with regard to Molo and hoped that normalcy will be restored in the area soon. Baroness Chalker further noted with satisfaction that the economic climate in Kenya was improving and expressed the hope that Kenya and the IMF will soon reach an agreement which will ensure release of balance of payments support.

On the current situation in Somalia, Baroness Chalker expressed the British Government's appreciation of the problems posed to Kenya by the influx of refugees and stated that Britain was not unsympathetic and would therefore act to ensure that these problems were adequately addressed. She also expressed the hope that the situation in the Horn of Africa will reduce to enable people there to live in peace and harmony.

In his response, Mr. Musyoka said that with political developments on course and Kenya having taken tough economic measures, it was his hope that Britain will play her role in the country. He also hoped that with British investment of more than 1 billion pounds sterling in Kenya, Britain will be more supportive on the ongoing structural adjustment programs. Mr. Musyoka expressed the hope that the UN peace process in Somalia will carry along the entire Somali population to ensure a lasting peace to the problem. [passage omitted]

### Police Detain 61 for Ethnic Violence in Rift Valley

AB2609203693 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 26 Sep 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Police in Kenya say they have detained more than 60 people in an area where there have recently been ethnic and political clashes. The arrests this weekend were in the town of Nakuru in the Rift Valley area of Central Kenya, where there has been violence between President Moi's Kalenjin group and the country's largest tribe, the Kikuyu. Several hundred people have died in clashes over the past two years, and many thousands have been displaced. The government and opposition parties accuse each other of encouraging the violence for political gain. From Nairobi, Mark Doyle reports:

[Begin Doyle recording] The 61 detained people were accused by the local police chief of taking part in an illegal oath ceremony. The officer told the government-controlled media that military style uniforms were recovered at the ceremony, thus implying that those arrested were somehow involved in plotting acts of violence. Kikuyu residents in the area disputed this. They said the ceremony, which involved members of a religious sect, was actually a birthday party for one of the detained men. The residents described the police action as official harassment. The state-controlled media praised the arrests, saying the oath ceremony was aimed at bringing the members of one tribe against the government.



The ethnic and political clashes in the Rift Valley constitute the worst documented violence Kenya has seen since the time of the anticolonial Mau Mau Movement. President Moi's government and the predominantly Kikuyu opposition parties blame each other for encouraging the violence for political ends. The authorities recently introduced tough security legislation in parts of Rift Valley which include stiff prison terms for anyone suspected of being involved in the clashes. Kenya's influential Catholic hierarchy cautiously welcomed the new laws and the government said they are bringing peace to the area. [end recording]

### Somalia

#### Pro-Aidid Radio Claims Pakistanis 'Massacred' Civilians

EA2709195693 (Clandestine) Radio Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 27 Sep 93

[Text] Pakistani troops, which these days are employing [words indistinct] massacred many people today in Mogadishu. The Pakistani troops, operating in line with a scheme designed to [word indistinct] against the Somali people, today at 2:30 P.M. carried out a premeditated attack against unarmed Somali civilians at a location between Banaadir Hospital and Km 4, using an armored vehicle. A correspondent from Radio Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People, Ilmi Uthman Farah, witnessed it all. He said that he saw with his very own eyes 11 Somali bodies, the victims of the Pakistani troops, and 12 injured. He added that the (?cowardly) Pakistani troops [words indistinct] shots [words indistinct] people to escape from bullets. The casualty figures are expected to exceed what we have reported. Most of the victims were traders in the area.

#### SSNM Chairman Supports UN, Urges Aidid To Halt Actions

EA2309205593 Mogadishu Voice of the Somali Republic in Somali 1100 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Text] Abdi Warsame Isaaq, the chairman of the Southern Somali National Movement (SSNM), has spoken about his organization's general policies, the various stages it has gone through, and current issues facing it.

Giving an interview to local journalists, the chairman made it clear that his organization strongly supported the various UN operations in Somalia, saying that if the UN troops and officials left the country, the Somali people would find themselves again in a situation worse than the past one.

Speaking on the Addis Ababa agreement of 23 March 1993, Abdi Warsame admitted that it was important to restore the Somali people's nationhood as translated by the formation of the district councils, which UN Operation in Somalia [UNOSOM] is now carrying out in the country.

Speaking on the problems caused by a small group in a limited area of southern Mogadishu, the chairman said he thought Aidid should first agree to turn himself in to the UN troops in the country, or accept to leave the country and seek political asylum in order to save the women and children he has used as shields. They have been killed every day in fighting in which he has had a vested interest.

Asked the reasons for his withdrawal from the Somali National Alliance (SNA), Warsame said after reassessing the common principle that the SNA abused, it became important for the SSNM to stand apart, and this move was approved at the recent SSNM conference held in Marka District, Shabellaha Hoose region. Speaking about the importance of northern and southern unity, he said that he strongly supports the Somali people's unity and would not be amused by the claims by our brother northerners that they have broken away. He advised them to revoke the decision.

Finally, Abdi Warsame Isaaq appealed to the Somali people to maintain peace so the country can be rebuilt. He called on the small group led by Aidid to stop causing disturbances and at the same time [words indistinct].

### **Buthulezi Urges Establishment of Armed Zulu Units**

*MB2509123893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1150  
GMT 25 Sep 93*

[By Greg Arde]

[Text] Stanger Sept 25 SAPA—Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has appealed to his supporters to pay for the establishment of "legal" armed units to protect Zulus. Speaking at Shaka Day celebrations in Stanger on Saturday morning Buthelezi asked Zulus to each contribute R[and]5 to fund the formation of these units before the end of the year.

To huge applause he said: "It is not my intention to be aggressive or to start a war... but they are all against Zulus."

The proposed units would operate within the law and were required to counteract widespread killing of Zulus. He suggested the units might be deployed on the reef, by saying "I promise you I will send up these units to protect you".

Buthelezi also reiterated earlier promises to resign as IFP leader if the party was willing to proceed in elections for a constituent assembly. He said he would not be the man to "lead my people to slaughter" and was against elections until there was an entrenched constitution and a formalised state. He said he was otherwise not afraid of elections.

He rejected claims he was being a spoiler and asked what concessions had been made to his party during negotiations. There was not one feature of federalism in the proposed settlement, he said.

The thrust of Mr Buthelezi's speech was a call for Zulu solidarity. He said "in the months to come, our spirit will be tested again and again. Daily the Zulu people lie victim to a vicious onslaught... Their only crime is that they are Zulus".

"There are political forces in this country that are mobilising against us as Zulus, in an attempt to divide our nation—and this is not through murder alone."

He criticised the "devious antics at multi-party negotiations" at the World Trade Centre, near Johannesburg. "Under the guise of a 'commitment to democracy' some of the major parties—the SA [South African] Government and the African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance—have jointly negotiated a 'compromised' settlement in which the ANC will take over the reins of power."

He said the Transitional Executive Council would "effectively strip the kwaZulu Government of its public administration and police force, and subjugate this region to the control of central government".

Concluding Buthelezi said "my message to the whole world is that we are not the fools some make us out to

be". He said while some accused him of manipulating and controlling the king it was the IFP that had stood behind the king and the Zulu nation. "We tell everyone not to test the strength and conviction of the Zulu people. No matter what attempts are made, either through force or negotiated settlement reached without the kwaZulu Government, the Zulu nation will stand by their king and rally together to protect our territory and national heritage."

He also said: "While we are proud of who we are, we identify with all our Asian, English, coloured and Afrikaner brothers and sisters who live in the region of kwaZulu/Natal—the king's kingdom."

### **De Klerk Reacts to Remarks**

*MB2609073593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0029  
GMT 26 Sep 93*

[By Sean Feely]

[Text] Washington Sept 26 SAPA—State President F W de Klerk said on Saturday in Washington his government would hold further bi-lateral talks with Inkatha over the next two days. Speaking after his closing address to the World Economic Development Congress in the US capital, Mr De Klerk was confident Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party would be part of agreements reached on the country's democratic transition. He was reacting at a press conference to reports from South Africa that Mr Buthelezi had appealed to Inkatha supporters to arm themselves to defend their lives against attacks by opponents.

Mr de Klerk said the government-Inkatha bi-laterals would look into Mr Buthelezi's concerns, but he had gained the impression from last week's bilateral meeting that the Inkatha leader was keen to be part of a negotiated settlement. "He (Mr Buthelezi) wasn't against negotiation... or the concept of elections in which all South Africans take part."

In his address earlier to the gathering of over 300 international business people, Mr de Klerk said he expected the 20 main political players to reach agreement on a transitional constitution and its future principles before the end of October. "Consensus has already been achieved on many of the key issues involved," he said.

A way would be found in which Inkatha would become party to the accords on four bills reached at multi-party talks and passed by Parliament as he left on Thursday for his three-day visit to the United States. "It can be averted... The only way to avert it is through negotiations. I don't plan for failure in this regard," Mr de Klerk told the international media conference.

He said the upcoming bi-lateral talks would also address Inkatha's concerns on a constitutional court and its belief federalism was not fully agreed to in multi-party



negotiations. "I hope from these bi-laterals will flow a divergence of opinion," Mr de Klerk said.

The South African premier left for London on Saturday night where he will hold talks with British Prime Minister John Major, before returning to South Africa.

### **ANC Urges Zulus To Ignore Call**

*MB2709152793 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1400 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] has urged Zulus not to heed the call by the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] to contribute money towards establishing protection units. The call was made by IFP leader Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi during Shaka Day rallies at the weekend.

The deputy chairman of the ANC in the Natal Midlands, Blade Nzimande, said the call was irresponsible and warned that terror and intimidation would result from it. He urged the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee and peace monitors to watch the situation closely.

### **NP, DP Responses Reported**

*MB2709173293 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Excerpts] The ANC [African National Congress] has urged Zulus not to heed the call by the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] to contribute money towards establishing protection units. The call was made by IFP leader Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi during Shaka Day rallies at the weekend. [passage omitted]

The National Party's [NP] media director, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, has said in Pretoria that although the NP sympathizes with Dr. Buthelezi's frustration and anger because IFP members are frequently the target of violence, his solution could pave the way for civil war.

The Democratic Party [DP] said Dr. Buthelezi's call had come at a time when South Africans should be redoubling their efforts to bring about peace and understanding. The DP defense spokesman General Bob Rogers said it would have been more constructive if Dr. Buthelezi had agreed to contribute personnel to a national peace-keeping force.

### **Inkatha MP Justifies Units**

*MB2709200693 Johannesburg SABA in English 1838 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 27 SABA—Inkatha's Transvaal co-ordinator Hennie Bekker on Monday justified the creation of self-protection units, saying these would be founded under strict discipline and in terms of the National Peace Accord. Mr Bekker, the MP who defected from the National Party to join the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], labelled as ironic the African National Congress' [ANC] criticism of the envisaged self-defence units.

He said the ANC had resisted all calls to disband its armed wing Umkhonto we Siswe [Spear of the Nation, MK—ANC military wing], as well as its self-defence units, which Mr Bekker charged was responsible for destabilisation, and "callous killing and maiming of people of different persuasions".

Mr Bekker gave assurances the units would be for protection only. "There is nothing new or secretive about our actions.

"Our intentions have already been openly stated during our annual general conference... this year." Soaring violence had necessitated the unit's formation, said Mr Bekker.

IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi asked his supporters at Shaka Day events at the weekend to help establish armed protection units to defend Zulus in strife-torn areas. At the Stanger rally, on the Natal North Coast on Saturday, Mr Buthelezi asked Zulus to contribute R[and]5 each towards forming the units before the end of the year.

And in Umlazi on Sunday he said the protection units were justified as other "illegal" armies were tolerated in South Africa.

But on Monday, Mr Buthelezi's proposals drew sharp criticism from the ANC in Durban, which urged Zulus not to heed Mr Buthelezi's call to finance the units, claiming they were aimed at strengthening the IFP's "reign of terror".

The National Party followed suit, saying it was a recipe for civil war. NP media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said it was dangerous, emotional politicking.

### **Zulu King Delivers Address at Shaka Celebrations**

*MB2609176093 Johannesburg SABA in English 1126 GMT 26 Sep 93*

[SABA PR Wire Service issued by the Office of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu: "King Shaka commemorative celebrations by His Majesty King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhhekuzulu, king of the Zulus, King Zwelithini Stadium, Umlazi: September 26, 1993"]

[Text] Mr Master of Ceremonies; the minister who has just led us in devotions, and other religious leaders present; Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu; Amakhosi [chiefs] present; Honourable Ministers of kwaZulu and Honourable Deputy-Ministers present; members of the kwaZulu legislative assembly present; senior officials of kwaZulu from all the departments; the Mayor of Umlazi and Town Councillors present; Indunas [headmen] present; distinguished guests; ladies and gentlemen; our dear sons and daughters of Africa.

Today we have gathered together to celebrate our noble Zulu heritage, and to draw strength and courage from each other in the age-old Zulu tradition. We are a people

who know where we have come from, and where we want to go to. The battles of our mighty forefathers, and the wisdom gleaned from their experiences, beginning with the king of all kings—King Shaka ka Senzangakhona, has provided the Zulu people with a vision and fortitude which has stuck with us to this day.

The lessons of the past have taught us that politics and nation-building should be about making things better for the ordinary people. That is what all our noble kings have done throughout history, and it is what I, your king, am still striving to achieve for you today. The example was set by King Shaka himself, who conquered to incorporate his people into a unified nation, in order to improve the security and living standards of communities that fell under his reign. [passage omitted]

We as a Zulu people have always drawn together in times of threat. Now is the time for you, the people of my father, to come together as one people. The Zulu has an important task to accomplish for the whole of South Africa. We alone have the united spirit to achieve democracy and justice for future peace and prosperity in our troubled land. If we do not do it, South Africa will be worse off and the future of our children will be held in the balance.

As king of the Zulus, I have made it my life's work to attend to the unity of my people and to the improvement of their welfare and state of mind—just as King Shaka took care of his growing nation by enhancing the political and social infrastructure of his entire kingdom.

Now is the time for us, as a powerful nation, to demonstrate to all South Africa the wisdom of the Zulu people, and to show South Africa just how united we can be when it comes to striving for a future of peace and harmony.

When I recall the success of the imbizo [gathering] I called in July this year, I am heartened by the way the Zulu people can still rally together. You, the Zulus of South Africa, came together in that imbizo and you went forth from it to spread the strength of Zuluness across the length and breadth of our country.

I called for an imbizo because I felt that the time had come for my people to receive reassurance from their king. From all sides we are being attacked. The very nature of your Zuluness has singled you out as a target for violent assault. There are forces which are seeking you out; gunning you down in your hostel beds, plucking you from your vehicles to be shot dead in cold blood, killing your children on the way to school, slaying the mourners of our dead. The tragedy is that these enemies are even using your own kith and kin to destroy you. I am pained by the destruction of my subjects.

These attacks against the Zulu people are aimed at dividing our nation, and weakening our bonds of unity. These attacks against us are mounted in an attempt to destroy our will to resist. The aggressive onslaught against the Zulus is becoming more brazen. Now active

attempts are being made to dismantle the kwaZulu government and to disband kwaZulu police.

The location of these assaults is the multi-party negotiating forum—the very forum aimed at bringing all representative groups together for the first time to level the political playing fields and to map out a peaceful future settlement. Instead this forum is being used by major political parties to legislate into place a new demoralising regime which is directly aimed at obliterating kwaZulu as a political force.

With my full support, the kwaZulu government delegation has walked out of constitutional negotiations. I, as the king of the Zulus, could never endorse a structure which bulldozes constitutional proposals through which excludes the self-determination of the Zulu people. As your Zulu king I could never endorse a motion to pass legislation through the next sitting of Parliament of the South African Government to allow for the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council. To this end I would be throwing away all that our Zulu nation has fought for over the decades.

The Transitional Executive Council will be vested with the powers to dismantle the kwaZulu government, take away all its powers, collapse its administration, and subjugate the Zulu people and myself, the Zulu king, to central government rule. These forces, which include the present apartheid government, have been unsuccessful in all their attempts to crush the spirit of the Zulu people through violence and intimidation, so they have now resorted to the constitutional process in an attempt to legislate the Zulu nation out of existence.

I know there is no need for me to voice my re-assurance that these attempts will fail as well. The strength and resolve of the Zulu people is something to be felt rather than bragged about. But you are here today, to heed my warning regarding these agitators, who plot under the guise of democracy, but whose lust for power over-rides all considerations for peace and tolerance in our country. It is these agitators, these aggressors against the Zulu people, who will fall prey to their own evil plots.

In all the years of armed struggle and revolutionary war, the Zulus of South Africa refused to participate. The Zulu people were the missing factor in the revolutionary armies that failed even to get across our borders, let alone to conquer the Pretoria regime—because we were not with them. Those Zulus who did join, were victimised in the camps. Any attempt to replace one dictatorship with another will only reverse the reform we have achieved thus far in South Africa. Any attempt to impose the domination of one party over the Zulu nation, or for that matter the South African people, will never achieve its objective. Without the active participation and consent of the Zulu people, there is no hope of dismantling the kwaZulu government and destroying the Zulu heritage we have fought for decades to preserve. We are saddened to be placed in a situation where anything can happen to jeopardise the place which is our heritage.

As we celebrate King Shaka Day, let us use this time to recollect how many brave Zulu people died for the ideals which we now want put into operation in the new South Africa. Let their deaths not be for nothing. Let us carry on their noble struggle. We have faced many threats in the past. And as long as the power of the Zulu nation prevails, these threats will never cease. Do not be intimidated. It is evil that drives men apart. So the unity of the Zulu people means good for South Africa. From that good you can build courage and wisdom, and arm in arm we will fight for our place in the new South Africa.

### Appeals for End to Violence

MB2509161093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1524  
GMT 25 Sep 93

[By Greg Arde]

[Text] Stanger Sept 25 SAPA—Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini appealed to his subjects to halt the violence plaguing South Africa and called for racial harmony in the country. Speaking at the tomb of his ancestor, the legendary King Shaka, King Zwelithini also told thousands of supporters that "enemies of the Zulu nation" had ridiculed him by suggesting he was siding with one political party over another.

However, King Zwelithini took the stand after Inkatha President Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and urged Zulus to work together with Mr Buthelezi and himself to rebuild Zulus into the nation they were under King Shaka. "The efforts to destroy the Zulu nation have not ended now that we have rid our country of apartheid. Today, the enemies of the Zulu nation are desperately trying to drive a wedge [between] my people and myself... They question my claim that I am above politics."

The king also made a strong appeal for peace and racial harmony. "This (killing) must stop... nothing can be gained from this madness.

"If we do not stop the killings then black people will stand to inherit a wasteland of poverty and death.

"Instead of fighting, let us talk to each other. Get us accommodate each other. Let us strive to overcome our differences," he told enthusiastic supporters.

King Zwelithini pressed his subjects to bridge the racial barriers created by apartheid. "If we are to build a new South Africa—free from hate and hostility of the past—then we must strive for peace and understanding between races.

"We must strive for peace between the Zulu and the Afrikaner, peace between the Zulu and the Xhosa, and peace between us as Zulus," he said.

Stanger was a hive of activity on Saturday, when thousands of supporters, mostly dressed in traditional garb thronged through the town to participate in the customary Shaka commemoration.

### Home Minister: KwaZulu Should Have Own Constitution

MB2709182793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1601  
GMT 27 Sep 93

[Text] Durban Sept 27 SAPA—Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte says he's convinced Natal/kwaZulu should have its own future constitution. The National Party's [NP] latest draft regional model provides for "tremendous" regional powers, he adds.

"I'm a federalist and it (the model) goes further than I expected," Mr Schutte said in Durban on Monday. He was speaking in an interview before addressing the Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa.

Mr Schutte said he believed the model, to be presented to the multiparty negotiating forum soon, would go far enough to draw the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] back to democracy talks. The IFP is demanding a federal constitution and wants substantial regional powers entrenched in the new constitution.

Questioned on the IFP's weekend rejection of the Transitional Executive Council, Mr Schutte said it was essential that bilateral talks overcame the fears and accommodated reasonable demands from the IFP and the right wing.

"Bilaterals are on course. I have confidence that in Natal we will be able to accommodate the aspirations of Dr Buthelezi and the IFP."

He said the IFP's support of three of the four transitional bills "indicates they're interested in elections".

Mr Schutte said the National Party was strong on federalism and Natal's unique situation—such as the Zulu kingdom—demanded a regional constitution.

### Mandela Calls On Right Wing To Reject Civil War

MB2609123293 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in  
English 26 Sep 93 p 8

["Comment" by African National Congress, ANC, President Nelson Mandela]

[Text] South Africa is set on a course of transition to democratic rule. By now it should be clear to all that the first non-racial elections will take place on April 27 1994.

Assembled under the banner of the Right Wing there are forces which—recognising they cannot stop change—are intent on inciting whites into waging civil war.

It is time they stopped and examined more carefully the consequences of such incitement.

The African National Congress is aware of the concerns and fears of all minorities, including the whites. We have always shown an openness to understanding these fears and finding appropriate means to address them.

Afrikaners do a great injustice to themselves when they allow the right wing to appropriate the banner of Afrikanerdom in the pursuit of their objectives.

It is this type of right-wing thinking which took over the struggle of the Afrikaner against British colonial rule and made it fatally flawed because they refused to embrace within their cause the need to respect the human rights of all other peoples.

This is how they misled the Afrikaner into embracing apartheid... that is why they have, until now, deliberately spurned the hand of friendship which the ANC holds out.

Things are changing. The utter failure of apartheid ought to make them ask themselves how it is that they took the Afrikaner into a path which amounted to the conscious denial of the rights of black people. The narrow pursuit of their own interests at the deliberate expense of others was the surest recipe of engendering conflict and hostility.

The ANC has been forthright in its commitment to the liberation of black people. Our objective has always been to ensure that blacks win political power so that they themselves can exercise that power to solve the problems that beset them in the country.

The economy of this country has no prospect whatsoever of moving into a growth path unless and until the problems of unemployment, homelessness and hunger are addressed. It is unthinkable that the crises around education, health and landlessness can be resolved unless blacks win political power for themselves and all South Africans evolve solutions.

It is time for those in the right wing to understand that the era of white supremacy is over. We have fought and defeated white minority rule. There is no way that the white Right can hope to muster the power that apartheid rule commanded. There is no force which therefore can even think that it has the potential to make us give up the struggle to bring about democratic rule based on the recognition of the human rights of each and every individual in our country.

This is the context in which we appeal to the right wing not to do anything that will lead to conflict, not to fuel and incite whites into civil war. This is a path along which no one will win. Even if our country and economy were reduced to ashes and untold lives lost, we would still have to come back to the table to negotiate a future for peace and democracy.

The ANC is ready to talk to all in our country, we are ready to listen to their concerns, to seek to understand their fears and to find ways to address these.

The transition cannot be stopped. It is time that the right wing examined itself very carefully and avoided the path to self-destruction. It is time they came to the negotiating table.

[Signed] N. Mandela.

#### **Mandela, Israeli Foreign Minister Meet in New York**

*MB2809065193 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 28 Sep 93*

[Text] The president of the ANC [African National Congress], Mr. Nelson Mandela, and the Israeli minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Shim'on Peres, have held talks amid tight security in New York. It was the first time the leaders of the ANC and Israel had held discussions. The two leaders congratulated each other on the significant steps taken recently in South Africa and Israel to resolve political problems. Mr. Mandela pointed out that although the ANC and the Palestine Liberation Organization were allies, the ANC recognized the existence of the State of Israel within secure borders.

#### **Mokaba: ANC To Attain Power by 'Ballot or Bullet'**

*MB2509195693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1800 GMT 25 Sep 93*

[Text] Durban Sept 25 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] Youth League leader Peter Mokaba on Saturday warned that violence would escalate if the date for next year's first non-racial election was postponed. SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported Mr Mokaba told supporters at an ANC cultural festival to commemorate Shaka Day, held at kwaXimba in Natal, that IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would face an angry ANC if he contributed to postponing the elections.

Mr Mokaba also sharply criticised the IFP leader for stalling multi-party negotiations.

He called on ANC supporters to be peaceful, but also said they should learn to shoot in case they had to defend themselves.

Mr Mokaba said the ANC was not prepared to wait for power.

He said the organisation had to attain power by the ballot or bullet—and for this reason elections should not be delayed.

#### **ANC Said To Drop Call for Simple Majority on Constitution**

*MB2709132093 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 27 Sep 93 p 1*

[Report by Billy Paddock]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] and its allies have agreed to drop their demand that the deadlock-breaking mechanism in the new constitution be approved by a simple majority.



This would remove a key stumbling block towards the new constitution.

A senior ANC negotiating source yesterday confirmed that the organisation had agreed to the deadlock-breaking mechanism being changed. "But it is not just simply a matter of the percentages being changed to higher majorities. Possibly there have to be changes to the whole process of approving the final constitution," he said.

At present, if the elected constitutional assembly could not agree on the constitution by a two-thirds majority, a referendum would be held and if this did not result in a two-thirds majority, a new election would be called and a simple majority required to approve the constitution.

Yesterday ANC national executive committee member and SACP [South African Communist Party] chairman Joe Slovo said no firm agreements had been reached but negotiations were going on "and we have to resolve the matter urgently so we can finalise the constitution within the next five weeks".

Meanwhile, government and Inkatha Freedom Party negotiators met yesterday and will continue their meeting today in Pretoria to try to bridge the differences Inkatha has with the rest of the process.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi repeated his rejection of the Transitional Executive Council [TEC] yesterday and said Zulus should prepare to resist TEC rule in kwaZulu, SAPA reports.

He told a rally in Umlazi, held to celebrate Shaka Day, that the TEC was undemocratic and was dominated by the ANC.

"At the heart of the latest constitutional proposals now tabled at negotiations, is the aim to destroy kwaZulu as a political force before elections take place next year", he charged. "No one must underestimate our determination to rule over ourselves. No one must underestimate our resolve to remain free from foreign rule," he said.

Government and the ANC met last week and the ANC will be meeting the Concerned South Africans Group and Bophuthatswana today to discuss regional powers.

Meetings between the Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front] and the ANC are also set to continue although they have not made much headway in the secret meetings.

An ANC source said while there had not been any breakthrough, there had been a "warming up process and there could be scope for finding accommodation".

However, Slovo said the ANC would not accept an Afrikaner boerestaats [Boer state] but there "are other ways that their concerns can be addressed and we are exploring these".

### ANC Deputy President Addresses Zulu Cultural Festival

MB2509150893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1348  
GMT 25 Sep 93

[By Craig Doonan]

[Text] Durban Sept 25 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] Deputy President Walter Sisulu on Saturday implored all South Africans to accept the Transitional Executive Council Bill which signalled the irreversibility of the transition from racism to democracy. The enactment of the bill would effectively take the country to democratic elections and there was no turning back to racism, division or hatred, he said.

Mr Sisulu was addressing several thousand people at an ANC cultural festival in the kwaXimba Valley, near Cato Ridge.

"We who have struggled for so long have no room for bigotry and aloofness," he said in a message to those opposing South Africa's imminent transition.

The ANC understood there were uncertainties about the future among some, but "with them we should strive for a common understanding. A desire to move forward as one". South Africa's transition could not be halted, he said.

Mr Sisulu spent much of his address to the crowd of mainly Zulus, many in traditional garb, praising the "heroes of South Africa" particularly Zulu traditional leaders like King Shaka Zulu and Chief Albert Luthuli.

He also paid tribute to other leaders across the colour and political spectrum who had laboured for liberation.

Festival organisers said they wanted the event to become an annual one to which a diversity of cultures would contribute.

Earlier, the local tribal chief and head of the ANC's cultural desk in the Midlands, Chief Zibuse Mlaba, told the crowd he wanted to bury the myth that Zulus did not support progress and were opposed to the April 27 election.

He said the country had reached the most important phase in the struggle for liberation and Zulus, like all other groups, wanted their freedom.

Chief Mlaba was castigated by the Inkatha Freedom Party and some traditional leaders for hosting the festival on the customary Shaka Day weekend during which Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini and IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi address Zulus at rallies in Natal. They accused Chief Mlaba of "treason" for siding with the "enemies of kwaZulu" by hosting the event, and warned of possible violence.

However, there were no reports of clashes by Saturday afternoon and the festival was marked by a jovial and relaxed atmosphere. Set in the picturesque hills between

Durban and Pietermaritzburg, kwaXimba was once the site of horrific battles between the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

A bridge in the centre of the valley which marks the border between two clans was once the scene of bloody battles between the two sides. Chief Mlaba, however, initiated peace talks which have brought relative calm to the area.

The festival attracted people from throughout Natal and was officially opened with a march past by a squad of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation, ANC military wing] soldiers.

Spectacular Zulu dancing entertained the crowd between speeches by their leaders while musicians entertained them later.

### **ANC To Support 'Credible Forces' in Ousting Ciskei Head**

*MB2509074593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2303 GMT 24 Sep 93*

[Text] East London Sep 24 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] in the eastern Cape border region says it will support genuine initiatives by credible forces to oust Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. The border ANC media officer, Mr Mcebisi Bata, stressed, however, the organisation would not be drawn into a situation where "military means" would be used to overthrow the Ciskei regime.

Mr Bata was reacting to a report in a Johannesburg weekly newspaper that a group of senior Ciskei defence force officers had expressed serious grievances against Brig Gqozo, and had come close to threatening outright rebellion. Mr Bata said the ANC had had no contact with the group whose grievances were contained in an unsigned document handed to a news agency by a group of officers who claimed to speak on behalf of all Ciskei troops.

Among the grievances was discontent over the issue of white officers occupying senior positions in the Ciskei security establishment. The group questioned Brig Gqozo's need for bodyguards—said to number over 30—and claimed that soldiers had been asked to join Brig Gqozo's political party, the African Democratic Movement. Contradicting Brig Gqozo's declaration that Ciskei won't participate in elections on April 27, the document said: "People of Ciskei, we are going to the elections, we are with you." The officers said they planned to "throw down the gauntlet" to Brig Gqozo at a meeting of Ciskei troops to be held in Bisho's industrial hall next Wednesday.

A Ciskei government spokesman, Mr Cedric Harrop, dismissed the report as another example of "negative propaganda and misinformation distributed by minor agencies responding to the instructions of those who paid them".

### **ANC Adopts Code of Conduct on Financial Interests**

*MB2409145593 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 24-30 Sep 93 p 5*

[By Iden Wetherell]

[Text] The African National Congress [ANC] has broken crucial new ground by adopting a code of conduct which will require disclosure of financial interests by members of its national executive committee [NEC], election candidates and employees.

Among other things, the code provides for the creation of a committee to which all financial interests must be declared, a register documenting such interests, the reporting of directorships offered to office-holders and control over gifts and payments of more than R[and]100. More controversially, it also clamps down on organised factions and tendencies in the movement, which it says cannot be tolerated.

The code, a copy of which is in the possession of the MAIL & GUARDIAN, was approved by the NEC at a meeting last month. It puts the ANC far ahead of rival parties in establishing clear, ethical guidelines and promoting openness and accountability. This followed preliminary discussions in February on a draft code, described by the NEC as "long overdue".

There has been criticism both within and outside the ANC, that office-holders are accepting gifts, directorships and other perks as new relationships are established with the business sector. Kader Asmal, NEC member and professor of human rights law at the University of the Western Cape, claimed the code represented "the first initiative of its kind undertaken anywhere in the world by a political organisation".

The ANC code states that "most democracies have enlightened and transparent rules concerning the disclosure of pecuniary interests and material benefits of leading officials".

The guidelines are intended "to combat perceptions concerning possible conflicts of interests", it continues. "Such disclosure is healthy for our movement and will strengthen our position when we advocate such an approach for members of our democratic national parliament in the near future".

The NEC proposes to establish a "committee on the declaration of financial interests" which will maintain a "register of financial interests". One section requires that every member of the NEC, regional executive committees, candidates for local, regional and national elections, and employees of the ANC "shall make a general disclosure of financial interests which shall be entered in the register". This will cover "the name of employer or whether self-employed, salary or income, real property interests, pensions, directorships and consultancies and personal economic interests—that is, ownership or interest in stocks, shares, bonds, or any business".



In addition, the code requires that if any office-holder, candidate for election or employee is offered a directorship of any company in future, "such an invitation shall be reported to the committee which may recommend whether or not the acceptance of such a directorship is in the best interests of the organisation".

"The obligation to report" states the code, "arises regardless of whether the directorship is paid or unpaid or whether it is a state, parastatal or private company".

Another section of the code requires any office-holder, candidate for election or employee who is offered a gift over the value of R100 to immediately report it to the committee on financial interests, which will then recommend whether such a gift is appropriate.

Similarly, "any payment received in cash or kind above R100 for services rendered as a representative of the ANC shall be reported to the committee and handed over to the organisation", the code states. This does not include payment for travel and accommodation expenses incurred and paid for by the individual.

The code stipulates that once the initial register of interests is drawn up, it will be updated within three months by the committee on financial interests, and thereafter every six months. In the case of election candidates, the register will be reviewed once the candidates have been chosen.

In addition to the disclosure clauses, the code provides guidance on discipline and the use of ANC property. Members, officials and employees are not to make "unauthorised use of the organisation's property for personal advantage".

No doubt informed by past factionalism in the ANC, the code states that "no democratic movement can tolerate the existence of any organised grouping, faction or tendency within its structures or ranks. Members must utilise existing avenues for changes in policy and must refrain from publishing/distributing any material without authorisation which purports to be the view of any such grouping.

"The best interests of the movement are served by members respecting the need for debate within and not outside the movement," the code insists.

Officials are required to be accessible to members, communications must be replied to "as speedily as possible", and "such officials shall not abuse their office or employment by using their position to obtain material, sexual or other undue advantages from members or others".

While the code is binding on ANC members, no mention is made of members' spouses and relatives. Asked for comment, Asmal said the code should not be "unnecessarily complex". Other paradigms had been considered and "more complex and far-reaching procedures may have to be adopted in the case of members of parliament, cabinet ministers and civil servants," he said.

## **APLA Commander Interviewed; May Fire on MK Members**

*MB2609152093 Johannesburg SUNDAY NATION in English 26 Sep 93 p 2*

[By Jimmy Seepe]

[Text] APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] commander Sabelo Phama said this week APLA may find itself in a situation where it would have to open fire on MK [Spear of the Nation; African National Congress military wing] members in the proposed National Peace-Keeping Force (NPKF). In an exclusive interview with SUNDAY NATION, Phama said from Harare that his units might find themselves engaging members of MK when APLA was seeking out enemy agents (troops and police) in the townships who were fomenting violence against people.

"That is an unfortunate situation which might become unavoidable," he said. "If MK is going to be used to suppress people in Phola Park, Thokoza, Soweto, and other areas under the pretence of peace-keeping, then APLA might find itself directly engaging itself with them," he said.

MK Chief of Staff Siphwe Nyanda retorted: "The reason the Pan-Africanist Congress and its armed wing, APLA, are against the NPKF is that they have no troops to contribute to it. They are also against assembly points for the same reason.

"Whatever positions they take, approaches to them by us will continue in an attempt to bring them into the new South Africa. They are not keen on moving forward because doing so would expose the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] and APLA as nonentities."

And ANC [African National Congress] spokesperson Ronnie Mamoepa said: "It is unfortunate that Phama makes statements like this.

"It is conducive to Third Force elements attacking a legitimate and credible body such as the NPKF, and then claiming the operations were carried out by APLA."

Mamoepa added that the matter would be resolved when MK meets APLA and the Transkei and Venda defence forces in a fortnight at a venue to be decided.

Asked about APLA's armed actions during the build up to an election in which the Pan-Africanist Congress said it might take part, Phama said: "Violence can be reduced if the regime stops sending its mercenaries into the townships. The violence there has not been caused by APLA."

A proposal at the multiparty talks outlines an NPKF with 10,000 members drawn from the South African Police and Defence Force, and Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

Phama said rightwing elements fomenting violence would probably be included in the NPKF. "How can

MK want to keep the peace with these reactionary forces?" he said. "The only NPKF that would be credible would come after agreement on the mutual cessation of all hostilities. That is the only way that can ensure peace in the country," he said.

"APLA also has serious reservations about what has been proposed by the TEC [Transitional Executive Council] sub-council on defence which leaves the South African Defence Act intact.

"The South African Police [SAP] and Defence Force [SADF] have also indicated that they would not fall under a single joint command structure," he said. "This makes the whole peace keeping force a mockery.

"A force of 10,000 would not be able to contain the violence perpetrated by the SAP and SADF. APLA will continue to defend the masses and attack reactionary forces even if they are part of the NPKF.

"I do not know how far MK forces would want to collaborate with rightwing elements in the NPKF. It would be unfortunate for MK to be deployed in the township against the masses."

"We don't want a situation where we are commanded by rightwing forces in the NPKF. Only an international peace-keeping force would be credible."

He added that APLA would not scale down its operation when the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) was in place. "It's the aim of the racist regime to halt and eliminate APLA's campaign during the TEC.

"We cannot fold our arms when our people are being killed by the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) on the East Rand and other townships. We cannot accept a situation where only liberation armies are being pressurised to lay down their weapons while the regime continues with its campaigns in the townships."

This week MK and APLA held first talks in Zimbabwe which ended without reaching any agreement between the two forces. Phama said differences which emerged "centred around our current attitudes and perceptions of the trends of events in the country."

#### ANC Issues Response to 'Threats'

MB2709165793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1553  
GMT 27 Sep 93

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the African National Congress, ANC: "ANC Response to APLA Threats"]

[Text] Threats by the PAC's [Pan-Africanist Congress] military wing APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] to attack members of MK [Spear of the Nation—ANC military wing] serving under the auspices of the National Peace Keeping Force (NPKF) are irresponsible, highly provocative and clearly indicate that APLA has little interest in seeing an end to the violence.

It is unfortunate that the threats come in the wake of a joint meeting held in Harare between the two armed formations to discuss the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), NPKF and the future defence force. A further meeting which will include the Transkei and Venda forces, is scheduled to take place within a week.

Such rash statements can only create tensions and impact negatively on proposed future meetings between the two armed formations. Such statements create a climate conducive for attacks on ANC members and MK cadres by third force elements. The ANC reserves the right to defend its members, supporters or MK cadres who might come under attack from whatever quarter.

Instead of such irresponsible statements, APLA's command structure should concentrate its efforts in the process of the establishment of the National Peace Keeping Force which will, for the first time, empower our people in the process of the creation of a climate for free political activity and peace in our country. The establishment of the TEC, with its sub-councils on defence, law and order, create the first opportunities for multi-party control over all armed forces.

For the first time, sons and daughters of our country will participate as equals and fellow countrymen in a legitimate and credible force, the NPKF, to ensure that the violence which has left so many of our people homeless, widowed, dead and orphaned is brought to an end. In this regard we ask whether APLA has a vested interest in the perpetuation of this suffering visited on our people through the use of violence?

The ANC remains committed to a peaceful resolution of political problems with APLA and all other political parties. In pursuit of this ideal, the ANC is prepared to discuss the matter with APLA command structures at the next meeting.

#### PAC To Demand Joint Control of Security Forces

MB2509151593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1425  
GMT 25 Sep 93

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 25 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] announced on Saturday that it would embark on a countrywide campaign to demand joint control of the security forces. The campaign would take the form of pickets of government offices and other public places, protest marches and general civil disobedience actions, including rent boycotts, work stoppages and non-payment of TV licences and traffic fines.

The protest would unfold as soon as PAC regions finished consulting communities. PAC National Campaigns Committee Chairperson Ndsundeni Madzunya said in a statement. He said the PAC, together with the whole world and even President F W de Klerk, knew that whoever controlled the Army, controlled the country.

"No wonder the regime stubbornly refuses to relinquish total and sole control of the security and intelligence oppressive establishments."

Mr Madzunya said the PAC could not allow Mr de Klerk to continue having sole control over the security forces which had killed thousands of people over the decades and were currently killing people on the East Rand and in other parts of the country.

#### **Volksfront Official Comments on Talks With ANC**

*MB2709131893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1202 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] Pretoria Sept 27 SAPA—The Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front—AVF] was holding discussions with the African National Congress [ANC] because no peaceful solution was possible in South Africa without the Front's agreement, the AVF said on Monday.

It was commenting on reports that the AVF and ANC had reached an historic deal that would isolate the Conservative Party and other right-wingers from the Front.

AVF media spokesman Mr. S Maninger said the Front could clearly and frankly state that no secret deal had been concluded with the ANC, the government or any other organisation.

Any undertaking would have to be approved first by the AVF's General Council.

Mr. Maninger said in a statement the Front was bound by its constitutional principles which provided for the establishment of a volkstaat (people's state) in which the Afrikaner could realise self-determination.

The AVF Council had always pursued this goal publicly and without secrecy. "The reason why discussions are being held with the ANC is because the AVF has become an important power factor in South Africa and no peaceful solution is possible without agreement by the AVF," he said.

#### **Viljoen Interviewed on Afrikaner Front's Objectives**

*MB2709111393 Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Sep 93 p 9*

[Interview with Afrikaner National Front, AVF, Convener Constand Viljoen by Patrick Laurence at the Front's "new Pretoria offices"—date not given]

[Text] STAR: **What are the key objectives of the Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front]?**

Viljoen: The most important objective is self-determination on a piece of South Africa demarcated for the purpose of enabling Afrikaners to survive as a nation. We would like the Afrikaner Volkstaat [people's state] to be one of the demarcated states in South Africa. We

would like it to be loosely politically connected to the new South Africa but to have strong economic ties.

STAR: **Would the Afrikaner Volksfront accept a volkstaat within a federal system?**

Viljoen: If you say within a federal system, then you will have to explain exactly what federal system you are talking about.

STAR: **The United States, for example.**

Viljoen: We are disillusioned by what has happened in the last three or four years. We are worried about communism, and about the second and third revolutions after the elections, the socialist and Marxist revolutions. We don't know what the role of the SA Communist Party [SACP] will be in the development of ANC [African National Congress] policy.

If you speak to the ANC, they say they will probably not go for further revolutions. But if you look at the decisions of the SACP at its 1991 congress, it is clear that it is still intent on making another communist experiment in South Africa. That is what we are scared of...

Therefore, we say: Before taking such a chance, before taking such a risk, let us rather have a loose political connection. We are prepared to live that for 25 years and then have a good look to see if we can move closer to the new South Africa.

STAR: **Where will the Afrikaner volkstaat be located?**

Viljoen: If you look at the area we have indicated for the Afrikaner volkstaat, it is clear that it cannot go for secession. The Afrikaner heartland lies right around the Witwatersrand area. In that area, 80 percent of the Afrikaners live. If you draw the lines correctly, you already have a 52 percent Afrikaner majority.

We have taken the old Boer republics and we have removed the rich areas from them, the Witwatersrand, the Vereeniging area, to the east as far as Secunda, to the south as far as the Welkom mines in the [Orange] Free State.

We have excluded them specifically so that we cannot be accused of being greedy.

The heartland is the rest of the Boer republics. Some 25 percent we have given away already. Remember that in the old Boer republics there are certain areas which previous governments have allocated as tribal land. We have no intention of forcefully removing people from tribal land.

STAR: **What will the position of black people be in the Afrikaner heartland?**

Viljoen: I'll give you the limits... on the one hand, we do not want to leave the people voteless, we would like them also to share in democratic rights.

On the other hand, it will serve no purpose if we go for a solution that will only last for five or 10 years time and then, because of squatters or because of natural population increase, we have to face another problem. So between these two limits we will have to find a solution. We are still negotiating...

**STAR: Who are you negotiating with?**

Viljoen: Basically, we have three negotiating groups going at the moment. We are negotiating with Cosag [Concerned South Africans Group], we are negotiating with the ANC and we are also negotiating with the Government.

**STAR: Are there any circumstances in which the Afrikaner Volksfront will compete in the scheduled election next year?**

Viljoen: I am sure that the most vital period in the history of our country will be the next four to six weeks. If the Afrikaner Volksfront is accommodated as part of the new South Africa in our own volkstaat, then there will have to be some participation in that election, then all the blacks living in our area will have to vote and we, too, will have to vote.

It depends what the voting powers will be, whether the volkstaat people will vote for the central administration or not. Whether Afrikaners living outside the volkstaat but intending to come to live in the volkstaat will be allowed to vote.

**STAR: You do not exclude the possibility of Afrikaner Volksfront participation in the election?**

Viljoen: We are reserving our position on the election to see what comes from the package. If the package deal is acceptable then we will have a good look at the election. If it is totally unacceptable, then there is no sense in us participating in the election.

**STAR: AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL posits the idea of the Volksfront leading an alliance of conservative Afrikaners, including elements in the National Party and black movements critical of or hostile to the ANC?**

Viljoen: One must be careful about using the words "hostile to the ANC". Our approach is that we are very uncertain. We are disillusioned over what has taken place in the past three or four years. We therefore would be very careful how we react. That is why we want the political connection with the new South Africa to be as loose as possible.

**STAR: You would prefer to characterise your attitude to the ANC as cautious or prudent rather than hostile?**

Viljoen: Let us wait and see how developments between us and the ANC turn out before we start saying who is going to be an enemy and who will not be an enemy. What is the object of negotiations? It is to find a solution

without resorting to violence...to remove hostility by means of negotiations. That is exactly what we are busy with at the moment.

To come back to your question about a conservative alliance: I think the biggest problem we have at the moment with politics in South Africa is the speed at which events are being forced to take place.

What the exact political alliance will be of the new South Africa is very difficult to say. I think that should the ANC-SACP embark on the line of communism then there will be a very strong need to oppose them through a counter alliance. Should they decide on another road it will be totally different. The exact future of politics is very unclear.

**STAR: Do I understand you correctly to imply that there can be some sort of accommodation between the Volksfront and the indigenous African component of the ANC?**

Viljoen: The danger of communism is certainly one of the main dangers for Afrikaners. Mr Mandela has said in public he cannot separate from the SACP at the moment, for very good reasons. He has said they have been together in the liberation war for some 70 years and it would be disloyal of him to now quit that alliance.

That I can understand. It is a good sign if people remain loyal. But you must also understand the position of the Afrikaner. The road which we cannot easily turn around. That is why we are so cautious. That is why we demand self-determination in our own area.

**STAR: Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg has said the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council [TEC] would be regarded as a declaration of war against Afrikaners. Where do you stand?**

Viljoen: The introduction of the TEC Bill is a very serious step...South Africa has become ungovernable. The TEC Bill gives the same people who made South African ungovernable power without responsibility.

According to the system of government which we have, the government is answerable to the people and the government departments can be held accountable to parliament. Now they have introduced a system where sub-councils, where people from the outside, from the revolutionary movement, will now have an input in government. It will make South Africa even more ungovernable.

The Government, through the TEC, has surrendered control over the security forces. You have a government which is not in power any more. It doesn't have the power to restore stability in the country. It is now dependent on the goodwill of people who have already made South Africa ungovernable.

If you sign away control of the security forces, it comes very close to a declaration of war.

**STAR: Your talks with Mr de Klerk, how are they going?**



Viljoen: Sometimes we talk to Mr de Klerk, sometimes we talk to the Ministers in the team. We have been asked to regard those talks as confidential.

The Government now realises that the Afrikaner Volksfront has become a force. When we launched the Volksfront about four months ago, the President asked the press not to take notice of us, not to write too much about us...he has now come to the conclusion that he cannot ignore the Afrikaner Volksfront.

**STAR: Your talks with the ANC. Can you comment? What are you hoping to achieve?**

Viljoen: We have given our word not to comment. You ask what do we hope to achieve? If you are in conflict, the only solution is to negotiate to see how you get out of conflict.

**STAR: I understand that you need to unify Afrikaners. But there are elements in the Afrikaner Volksfront—the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement]—which project a fanatical image. Is that a problem?**

Viljoen: We have the full spectrum of Afrikaners, from the Afrikaner Volkunie [National Union] and some National Party members, to the far Right, to the AWB. We are not a political organisation. We are an umbrella organisation, taking care of all the people. I can't reject the AWB.

The idea of the Afrikaner Volksfront is to unite the Afrikaner. So we try to unite the whole spectrum. We are making good progress.

But we never try to change individual organisations. I am not going to prescribe to the Conservative Party what their policies should be. Nor am I going to tell the AWB to change the insignia on their uniform. We leave it to each organisation to form their own character.

**STAR: Do you have party political affiliations?**

Viljoen: None. I am a soldier still. I am proud of being a soldier.

**STAR: At what point could there be military resistance? At what point does the soldier replace the negotiator?**

Viljoen: It is very difficult to say. We have seen such a lot of bloodshed in South Africa. It is a terrible situation. It is the responsibility of all of us to try to prevent a war. I know war, that is why I try to prevent it.

**STAR: But you have also been quoted on television as advising Afrikaner women to take instruction in shooting and to steel themselves psychologically to shoot to kill.**

Viljoen: There are reasons for that. If a woman on a farm is attacked and she has a weapon but fears to use it because of a psychological inhibition, then she will be killed first. I only warned them about the problem.

### **CP Leader Discusses Preventing April Election**

*MB2509144293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1248 GMT 25 Sep 93*

[Text] George Sept 25 SAPA—The only way to stop the April 27 election would be for Cosag [Concerned South Africans Group] not to return to the negotiations table, Conservative Party [CP] leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said on Saturday. Addressing the CP's Cape congress in George, Hartzenberg said the Concerned South Africans Group represented 40 to 50 per cent of South Africans and the only way to show there was no consensus at negotiations was if it stayed away.

"The election must not take place. Our first option is to see that we get our own election for our freedom."

Referring to the series of "plagues" instituted by the party, he said the fourth plague had been its demonstration against the Transitional Executive Council. Planning was in progress for the fifth plague, details of which would be announced when ready.

"We must do everything possible to prevent the tenth plague occurring. If the election comes then the volk [people] must decide if it is going to surrender or fight, and I say we must stand up and fight the ANC [African National Congress]."

He said the government and the African National Congress were trying to give the Afrikaner a form of self-determination that boiled down to being minority rights. "I want to say don't think we will settle for anything less than full self-determination."

Speaking on agriculture resolutions, Charl Herzog, MP for Ladybrand, said farmers, as the biggest title-deed holders in South Africa, should be given the opportunity to say whether they wanted their own state or to become part of the ANC's enslavement.

The government had no will to solve farmers' problems or keep them on their land.

On education resolutions, party spokesman and MP for Brits Andrew Gerber said education was being used to build a single nation in South Africa.

"(President) F W de Klerk has no credibility with regard to promises he has made. We would be glad if he would take one of us to court so we can prove it."

He said the only way to guarantee Christian national education was to have an own volkstaat [people's state]. If the political battle was lost then "we won't be able to decide what kind of education our children receive".

**Pik Botha Says Several Countries Seek Diplomatic Ties**

*MB2709132893 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] The minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, says he has been approached by representatives of several countries wanting to establish diplomatic links with South Africa. Mr. Botha said he had agreed verbally to explore such links. The interested countries include Ireland, India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Mozambique and Egypt. He was addressing a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport this morning on his return from a visit to Germany, the United States and Britain.

Mr. Botha stressed that forging diplomatic links had been a continuing process. He said he had been approached by the diplomats following a call by the ANC [African National Congress] president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, on Friday for lifting all sanctions against South Africa. Mr. Botha said both Mr. Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk had been given a cordial reception and on equal terms during their visit to Washington.

On investment in South Africa, Mr. Botha cautioned that something would have to be done about the continuing violence in the country. He said the question of whether investment will flow into South Africa could be answered only by South Africans. The world was despondent about the situation in Angola and Mozambique, and if there were despondency about South Africa, foreign investors would withdraw from the country.

On the question of South Africa resuming its representation at the United Nations, Mr. Botha said South Africa's dues at the world body were in arrears and the country would have to negotiate the payment of these dues before it could be readmitted to the United Nations. He said, however, that from a practical point of view South Africa was already there.

Mexico is to take formal steps to establish full diplomatic relations with South Africa. The Mexican Foreign Ministry said that the decision had been taken in response to appeals for international assistance by the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, and the leader of the ANC, Mr. Nelson Mandela.

**Commonwealth Said To Lift Remaining Economic Sanctions**

*MB2509075293 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0600 GMT 25 Sep 93*

[Text] The Commonwealth has announced that it would begin lifting all remaining economic sanctions with immediate effect. The first Commonwealth country to do so was Canada, which said it would remove its remaining trade, investment, and financial sanctions. Australia also announced the immediate lifting of these sanctions, and New Zealand, moving in line with its

Commonwealth partners, followed suit shortly afterwards. The Anti-Apartheid Movement in London has also welcomed the call.

**KwaNdebele Accounts Show 'Serious Irregularities'**

*MB2409183893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1719 GMT 24 Sep 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 24 SAPA—An audit of kwaNdebele government accounts has uncovered serious irregularities such as unauthorised expenditure, overpayments, non-collection of taxes and debts, improper acquisition of goods and services and poor control, if any, of government stores.

SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported that, according to the 1991/2 audit report, the shortcomings were of such an extent that the auditor-general could not rely on the kwaNdebele government's accounting system.

The report said the homeland's Department of Education and Culture exceeded its budget by almost R[and]4 million. Inadequate controls over building projects were also reported. Expenditure of more than R1 million was incurred in the preparation of a site for a workshop complex at kwaMhlanga. The complex was eventually built somewhere else. Also, professional fees formed more than half of the building costs of the complex, compared with the norm of between 13 and 15 per cent for government buildings.

According to departmental records, fuel was issued to 267 vehicles that did not exist. There had also been serious and deliberate malpractices by members of the public with regard to sales tax on vehicles.

The report said that inadequate controls and irregularities had also been found in the functioning of the kwaNdebele tender board.

**Homelands Debt Stands at 14.2 Trillion Rands**

*MB2609104193 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English 26 Sep 93 p 2*

[By Edyth Bulbring and Ray Hartley]

[Text] Reports tabled in Parliament by Auditor-General Henri Kluever show that most of the self-governing homelands are in a shambolic state. The reports—tabled after a bill allowing the South African government to take control of collapsing homeland administrations was passed this week—point to serious maladministration, lack of control, theft and corruption in five homelands.

And in another report, the Consultative Business Movement said the homelands and TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei] states had accumulated a collective debt of R[and]14.2 billion [14.2 U.S. trillion] by the end of August. "There is a public perception that an attitude is developing, not only in certain



homeland civil services, but also at central level, under which civil servants are taking opportunities to enrich themselves..." the movement reported.

The auditor-general was unable to express an audit opinion on the accounts of Lebowa, Kangwane and Kandebele because of irregularities or failure to submit their returns. While Qwaqwa and KwaZulu showed theft, administrative incompetence and a serious lack of control, they fared better and an audit opinion could be recorded.

The report on the Kwandebele government for 1991-1992 showed there were serious shortcomings in the internal controls of many government activities. These shortcomings resulted in, among other things, unauthorised expenditure of R4.3-million, fruitless expenditure, over payments, non-collection of taxes and debts, poor control of salary matters, and poor control, if any, over government stores. Some of these irregularities included:

- The abuse of fuel allowances for government vehicles. In 267 cases, fuel was issued to vehicles that did not exist and some officials claimed for 1,000 km of travel a day. "Extraordinary considering the area of the territory," the auditor-general remarked.
- The Department of Law and Order spent R14,000 on 087 numbers [not further explained] in six months.

The Kangwane government recorded R13.7-million in unauthorised expenditure in 1989-1990. However, the auditor-general was unable to give an audit opinion for the past year as, despite numerous warnings and requests, the returns were not given to him by the homeland's government.

No opinion could be given on Lebowa for 1990 to 1991 as many returns had not been submitted and that year's budget had not been finalised by May 1991.

The report on Kwazulu for the 1991-1992 financial year showed "serious shortcomings in the systems of internal checking and control as well as a disturbing failure to adhere to financial regulations and instructions". A number of firearms at Kwazulu's Police Reaction Unit and the Quartermaster's Store could not be accounted for. The report also said there had been 101 cases of theft and irregularities involving R78,000 worth of firearms and ammunition.

The business movement called for the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council subcommittee to monitor developments.

#### **Finance Minister: All Figures Indicate Recovery**

*MB2709185593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1759 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] New York Sept 27 SAPA—South Africans were slowly starting to believe the country's worst recession was over, Finance Minister Derek Keys told a National

Foreign Trade Council conference on Monday. All figures pointed to a recovery and vehicle sales were starting to increase month upon month.

Mr Keys said other highlights of the South Africa economy over the past year included inflation falling below 10 per cent, the reduction in corporate tax and the curbing of government expenditure.

He defended the giant capital-intensive projects such as Columbus Stainless and Alusaf [Aluminium Corporation of South Africa]—criticised because of the low employee numbers in a country with high unemployment—saying the project promoters had taken all the risks and they did not require protective tariffs or export duties. The projects added value to South Africa's raw materials and would eventually create thousands of jobs in downstream industries, he said.

Mr Keys also told investors that the government's recipe for higher sustained growth—the Normative Economic Model [NEM] published in February—was getting off the ground. Many programmes to ensure the success of the model were already in place.

"There is nothing magical about this (the NEM) but it does require a fair degree of national consensus for it to be implemented and we're working on getting this together."

South Africa's united economic front had allowed the country to agree to terminate the standstill arrangements with international banks; a final offer in the Uruguay Round talks of the General Agreement on Trades and Tariffs; and negotiations with the International Monetary Fund.

#### **Commission: 554 Killed in August Political Violence**

*MB2709155493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1419 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 27 SAPA—A further 554 people died in political violence in August, making it a disastrous month for peace, according to the Human Rights Commission's [HRC] monthly repression report released on Monday. The East Rand and Natal accounted for 88 per cent of the deaths. The re-ignition of violence on the East Rand in July and August contributed to the national death total of 1,159 for the two months, higher than any other two successive months on record, said the HRC.

This represented a daily average death toll of 18.7, or more than double the average of 8.5 for the past three years.

The HRC said it recorded 669 cases of political violence in August, by far the highest monthly figure since monitoring began in July, 1990. In its regional analysis for August, the report said:

—the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region recorded 355 deaths, of which 310 occurred on the East Rand, 19 in Johannesburg and 26 elsewhere;

—Natal's toll was 176; and

—23 people died in other regions, with the Western Cape leading with a total of 18 deaths.

The HRC also reported that 178 people were detained without trial in August, bringing the number of detentions without trial for the year to more than 502.

By the end of August, 87 of these detainees were still being held.

Three people died in police custody during the month, bringing the year's total so far to 28.

### South African Press Review for 28 Sep

MB2809140793

[Editorial Report]

#### THE STAR

ANC Accepts Prospective Funding From World Bank—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 28 September in a page 14 editorial is relieved to note the African National Congress (ANC) "has acted swiftly to correct the impression that it had turned its back on prospective funding from the World Bank." "The harsh reality is that the country's first democratic government will need all the money it can get. It will need funds for housing, education, health and other social upliftment programmes—capital which will have to come from foreign sources if the taxpayer isn't to be taxed to death." "South Africa might have negotiated favourable terms for rescheduling its foreign debt repayments. But this does not mean it doesn't need financial help from the outside world. It's comforting to know that the ANC realises just what is at stake."

Doubt About Referendum Advantage—On the same page Stanley Uys writes from London that he is "dubious" about the advantages of a referendum. "First, if a referendum is designed simply to call Cosag's [Concerned South Africans Group] bluff, it will fail. It needs no crystal ball to see that Cosag will not be intimidated by the threat of a referendum. Second, Buthelezi will interpret a referendum as confirming what he has always alleged: that the Government and ANC have ganged up against him. Buthelezi then will become more, not less, bloody-minded. Third, deep in the psyche of the Afrikaner, is the fear of the black vote being used to swamp an Afrikaner vote." "Fourth, a referendum probably will delay an election and this might prolong the unrest in the country."

#### SOWETAN

Call for Government Action Against Homeland Corruption—"The puny resistance put up by Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike to South Africa's takeover of his administration was blown away yesterday when the SAP [South

African Police] marched into the homeland," declares a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 28 September. South African officials took control of the computer center at Lebowaqomo on the basis of an amendment passed in Parliament last week. SOWETAN urges the South African Government "to move as swiftly against other homelands where corruption and maladministration are rife."

#### \* Parties, Readiness for Elections Viewed

93AF0720B Cape Town LEADERSHIP in English  
No 12, 1993 2 pp 38-42

[Article by R.W. Johnson: "Of Ballots and Bullets"]

[Text] We are constantly being told that South Africa's political parties are "gearing up" for the imminent great electoral test. A campaign atmosphere already exists and bizarre articles are appearing in which "analysts" make extraordinary and bogusly "scientific" guesses at a possible result.

The ANC's election supremo, Popo Molefe, declares that the ANC will be spending over R100m and will be training 180,000 (or, sometimes, 210,000) party workers in electoral organisation and mobilisation. Molefe says the ANC is already assured of over 50 percent of the vote—and the real question is precisely where it will score in the target range of between 68 percent and 70 percent.

But—or so the conventional wisdom goes—the NP [National Party] is the most experienced of all the parties and will rely heavily on the organisational expertise which has kept it in power since 1948. Some government spokesmen are bold enough to predict that the NP will once again, with Pik Botha forecasting that Mangosuthu Buthelezi will push a million Zulu votes the government's way and others insisting that the Zionist Christian Church [ZCC] will be the NP's secret weapon.

Most of this is mere hype. None of Molefe's numbers can be taken seriously. Quite a few polls have put the ANC in the 45-50 percent range, but with possibly a year to go it is absurd to focus on so tight a bracket as 68-70 percent. As for training all those party workers, not only would this mean training around half the ANC's entire membership, but just about every other organisation in the country lacks the capacity to train so many people in so short a time. Similarly, it is a crass error to imagine that Dr Buthelezi would ever deliver votes to the NP; he wants them for the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party].

Meanwhile, the ZCC, with its enormous following, has wisely refused all political blandishments.

The biggest fact about the election is that it will be a crisis for all the parties—whenever it is called. None of the parties remotely possesses the organisational reach to

cope with the new electorate. The NP's fabled organisation was not only exclusively tuned to a white electorate, but has in any case never really recovered from the mushrooming growth of the CP [Communist Party] in the mid-1980s.

The CP stole much of the NP's best organisational talent and in the solid old citadels of Afrikanerdom it has enjoyed a superior grassroots touch for some years. To face this challenge, the NP has relied on its vastly greater financial resources, its control of the state machine, its use of patronage and its abusive control of the SABC.

But this will no longer do. Not only are all these weapons likely to be blunted or confiscated, but the NP lacks the army of grassroots activists necessary to carry its message into the new "virgin territories" of coloured and Indian settlements, let alone into black areas. Moreover, the whole NP machine is racked by apathy and uncertainty. For 45 years it has been a gravy train par excellence, and the thought that those days may soon be over forever is traumatic for many of its MPs and cadres.

The ANC naturally has a more solid presence in many black townships. But it is weakly organised (if at all) in many of the squatter camps and in vast tracts of rural South Africa. Indeed, conditions in the squatter camps often seem inimical to any form of political organisation: recent violence at Crossroads camp in the Cape and at Bhambayi in Natal have seen rival branches of the ANC and SACP [South African Communist Party] inflicting considerable casualties on each other.

Moreover, the ANC has no experience of elections and its whole organisation often seems shambolic: phones don't get answered, speakers often fail to show up at meetings, and there is, in the words of one foreign diplomat, "an uncomfortable degree of money leakage."

Be that as it may, the ANC will clearly not be short of funds, though its organisational coverage of the black electorate is likely to be weak—and what is true of the ANC will be truer still of other black parties, with the IFP providing, a partial exception only in rural Natal.

As the election nears, the party organisations are likely to start panicking as the realisation of their own incapacity sinks in. They will seek shortcuts by doing deals with local notables, particularly with traditional chiefs in the countryside and with warlords and strongmen in the squatter camps. Such men will be able (or will claim to be able) to command the allegiances of vast blocs of frightened voters—and it is a racing certainty that many of the poorer and less educated voters will simply not believe in the secrecy of the ballot.

The problem is, of course, that these notables will want to use their own names in prominent positions on the parties' lists—and the voters will demand no less. This will cause many heartaches for party headquarters, particularly if they have been foolish enough to finalise their lists before beginning the bargaining process with notables on the ground.

This points to a far better turnout among whites, Indians and coloureds than Africans, and among township blacks as opposed to those in squatter camps and the countryside.

Turnout could be very low in the latter areas: it is worth remembering that, right across Africa, in many of the elections of the independence period, turnout averaged 50 percent or less. In the Zambian elections of 1991—the first free elections there in over a quarter of a century—less than 45 percent of Zambians turned out to vote.

A low turnout could badly dent the ANC's hopes. And they will find themselves hampered not only by the limits of their own organisational reach, but—ironically—will be hampered by the heritage of decades of their own tactics of struggle. For over 40 years the watchwords of the liberation movement have been essentially negative—boycotts, non-recognition of laws and bans, refusal of passes, non-participation, withdrawal of labour, and so on.

Such tactics have not psychologically imbued the black masses with the positive, constructive and participatory attitudes needed to guarantee a high turnout. Indeed, up to now, the liberation movement has done all to encourage the notion that elections should always be boycotted.

The NP, IFP and DP [Democratic Party] face problems of a different order. Each has its own strongholds—but all will have to break through to a wider electorate. Under the proportional representation (PR) voting system, no vote anywhere will be wasted. All these parties undoubtedly enjoy considerable potential in many areas where they not only have no history of organisation, but in which campaigning will be hazardous.

The pressure will be felt by their candidates. It is all very well to point to opinion polls showing the NP with 70 percent or more of the coloured or Indian vote, but the real question is who will the NP have as candidates to attract that vote? The stigma of standing for what will be termed "the apartheid list" will be heavy.

The heritage of United Democratic Front (UDF) activism in many Indian and coloured areas is the existence of a tough nucleus of pro-ANC activists with considerable power on the streets. The fact that such groups have been left high and dry by the movement of opinion away from them in such communities does not alter the fact that they can exert considerable intimidatory power. Witness the breaking up of DP meetings in coloured areas where the DP enjoys significant popularity.

Faced with all this, the NP to date shows every sign of turning to utterly tarnished figures in the tricameral system. The awkward truth may be that coloureds and Indians would probably prefer to vote for F.W. de Klerk

himself than for the discredited and often openly corrupt politicians who dominated affairs in their tricameral houses of parliament.

The problems of violence and intimidation seem likely to overshadow the election. This will produce a delicate problem not only for the hordes of international observers, but for the police and SADF [South African Defense Forces] as well. In the eyes of the ANC and of much of the international community, the key role of monitors will be to ensure the good behaviour of the security forces—perhaps even by insisting that they be confined to barracks.

On the other hand it will be impossible to pretend that we are holding free and fair elections unless the IFP can campaign in Soweto and the ANC in Ulundi. All parties

should ideally be free to canvass and campaign everywhere. Yet a moment's reflection is sufficient to realise that this will mean that what we shall need is not for the security forces to be confined to barracks, but for them to play an exceptionally active role around the country, holding the ring.

Will such an activist role for the security forces really be consistent with their joint all-party control? Even to pose the question points to a larger irony.

The great hope is that the elections will allow the emergence of a government that enjoys a real sense of national legitimacy, and upon which a consensual respect for the rule of law and its firm enforcement can be built. But for the elections to be conducted freely and fairly will require that these conditions are, to a considerable extent, achieved during the campaign—and not merely after it.



**Angola****Sao Tome's Trovoada in Luanda for Talks on Peace Process****Carries Savimbi Message on Meeting***LD2709215793 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader Jonas Savimbi has asked for a meeting with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. Savimbi wrote a letter to the Angolan president that was delivered by Sao Tomean President Miguel Trovoada, who is visiting Luanda. In the letter Jonas Savimbi says that only a meeting between the two can help the Angolan peace process.

**Meets With President Dos Santos***MB2809083993 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] Miguel Trovoada, president of Sao Tome and Principe, arrived in Luanda today on a three-day visit to our country. He arrived in Luanda at about 1300 on board a Gulfstream, the Angolan Government's official jet aircraft. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos was at 4 February International Airport to welcome the visitor. Also present at the airport were Prime Minister Marcelino Moco, National Assembly Chairman Franca van Dunem, government and Presidency of the Republic officials, and members of the Sao Tomean Embassy. Accompanied by his Angolan counterpart, the Sao Tomean president then went to Futungo de Belas Palace to begin talks. Earlier, the two delegations and the diplomatic corps accredited in Angola attended an official luncheon.

According to reports, Sao Tome and Principe could have been the stage of renewed talks between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], but this did not materialize because Dr. Jonas Savimbi's organization failed to honor its peace promises.

A number of questions remain. Reports say that President Trovoada is aware of UNITA's position. It is believed that the Sao Tomean leader will disclose new details regarding the possible resumption of the negotiating process. So far, however, nothing has been said, not even about the meeting between Dos Santos and Trovoada, which lasted for about three hours. No statements have been made to the media, although it has been promised that a news conference will be held on 30 September. Trovoada leaves Angola on that day. [passage omitted]

**UN's Blondin Beye Says Fighting Stopped in Cuito***MB2709180993 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] The president of Sao Tome and Principe, Miguel Trovoada, has begun talks in Luanda with his Angolan counterpart Jose Eduardo dos Santos on ways to revive the peace process in Angola. During his four-day visit, President Trovoada is also due to meet the United Nations' envoy, Alioune Blondin Beye. In a BBC interview, Mr. Blondin Beye said fighting has now stopped in the central city of Cuito, which has been besieged by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels for most of this year, but he added that aid was not yet getting through to Cuito and people there were still starving. The Angolan Army says UNITA forces are redeploying for battle in the south. Yesterday, a United Nations arms and oil embargo went into force because of UNITA's failure to abide by Angola's peace treaty.

**Correspondent Reports UNITA Continues To Besiege Cuito***MB2709195793 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] The lives of Cuito residents are becoming increasingly tragic each day. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] continues to carry out all kinds of criminal actions [words indistinct] Cuito residents—sexual abuse, arbitrary occupation of homes, kidnappings and death threats against those who venture out in search of food [words indistinct] to increase the suffering of Cuito residents [words indistinct] famine is also one of the main scourges facing them, according to our correspondent, Abel Abraao:

[Begin Abraao recording] The political, military, economic, and social situation is becoming increasingly difficult for the besieged Cuito residents. UNITA continues its siege on Cuito, thus preventing the free movement of people and goods. Many houses have been occupied by Jonas Savimbi's men, who threaten to kill all those who try to return to their homes to collect their property—that is, if it still exists. UNITA rebels also continue to kill and kidnap citizens who venture out in search of food for their survival. Apart from killing and kidnapping people, the Black Cockerel's men have been [word indistinct] youths who, because of famine, leave the city in search of food. On the outskirts of the city, UNITA soldiers intercepted nine youths, including three adolescents, along the Cuito-Cunje road, forcing them to have sexual relations under the threat of death. Famine continues to be [words indistinct] having already reached alarming proportions. About 100 people die every day because of famine. Hundreds of citizens, without strength to walk [words indistinct] in the streets of the city begging for food. [end recording]

**Foreign Minister Comments on UN Resolution, Situation**

PM2709102593 Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese  
18 Sep 93 pp B1, B5

[Interview with Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura by Tony Jenkins in New York; date not given]

[Text] The veteran Angolan foreign minister is moderately satisfied with UN Security Council Resolution 864—the 10th on Angola. A year after the elections, peace is again postponed. The struggle continues. Victory is uncertain.

[Jenkins] Mr. Minister, the resolution approved by the UN Security Council last night represents a certain diplomatic victory for your government, but is it just fine words and rhetoric, or do you believe that they will finally force UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] to negotiate peace?

[De Moura] We are always optimistic and hopeful by nature. All the diplomatic and political initiatives (which we launch) have securing peace as their main aim. We believe that now, more than ever, the international community realizes this. In this context, the latest resolution which has been adopted corresponds to our country's real conditions. Now the question is whether the resolution will be implemented. The answer is there, in Resolution 864, in which the Security Council pledges to apply, step by step, strong measures to persuade UNITA to sit down at the negotiating table.

[Jenkins] But the international community's reaction is one thing, and UNITA's reaction is another.

[De Moura] That is true, and that is the reason why UNITA must submit to the international community's wishes.

[Jenkins] And do you believe that it will do so?

[De Moura] Yes, because it has no alternative. Military violence is no way to resolve problems. If all the member states involved in logistic support for UNITA ceased to do so, UNITA would not be able to continue the war for much longer.

[Jenkins] But, even so, that could take a long time. Consider the case of Yugoslavia, where the war in Bosnia is continuing despite the sanctions against Belgrade.

[De Moura] We do not want that to happen. We are talking about the end of hostilities. In Angola, the human conscience should be taken into account so that UNITA can in fact show that it is committed to the peace process. In conclusion, we can state that we will accept no more maneuvers and obstructionism. The government, as required by the constitutional rules, will continue to defend the Angolan people and assert its authority.

[Jenkins] But what can the government do that it has not already done?

[De Moura] The government now has more power than it had in January.

[Jenkins] Does that mean that it will now be able to secure more military support from the international community?

[De Moura] We are not seeking military assistance, in the first place, because we are convinced that this is not the path to follow; the solution is not military. Second, because we know what the consequences of war are. That is why we prefer to have recourse to political and diplomatic initiatives in order to secure peace.

[Jenkins] But if the war continues, it could take a long time to end. Will Angola's efforts to establish political democracy be able to survive so long a conflict?

[De Moura] Our viewpoint is that there can be no democratization if there is no peace, anywhere in the world; it is a scientific fact. Our foremost aim is to establish peace throughout the country.

[Jenkins] Perhaps I could put the question less diplomatically: Some observers have asserted that if the government does not succeed in ending the war, there could be a coup because the members of your Armed Forces could eventually say: "You politicians and diplomats do not know what you are doing; you are not succeeding in ending the war and we must take control." Certainly, I have already heard this viewpoint.

[De Moura] Yes, yes. We do not share that viewpoint and do not foresee events of that kind. Fortunately, our people know the consequences of actions such as those.

[Jenkins] So you are confident of the Armed Forces' loyalty?

[De Moura] Totally.

[Jenkins] Today THE WASHINGTON POST said that the UN resolution "sealed the divorce between UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi and the United States." Do you agree?

[De Moura] If we take into account the stances adopted publicly by the different U.S. representative, Madeleine Albright, in the Security Council, we can conclude that there was indeed a very significant change. As a result, there are two things which were said. First, for us in the Angolan Government, "wait and see," and, for UNITA, that they must understand the signal. It was very important.

[Jenkins] Were you surprised by the U.S. stance, which was so strong after all?

[De Moura] No, not totally surprised, because we now maintain a normal relationship. We have a formal relationship; we are two governments which recognize each other and which have diplomatic relations. We have common economic interests to defend, and it is normal for the United States to be on the side of a democratic and lawfully elected government; not on the side of rebels who are against the laws.



[Jenkins] And what is your opinion of the secretary general's stance. He was subjected to considerable pressures by UNITA, and I gather that you were not very satisfied with the first draft resolution which he submitted to the Security Council.

[De Moura] That is a problem for the secretary general, but, as you know, in these matters the final decision lies in the Security Council members' hands, and although the resolution does not contain all our recommendations as far as the sanctions package is concerned, what was achieved was to reach a consensus on actions against UNITA which had an agreed basis.

[Jenkins] Why did the secretary general yield to those pressures?

[De Moura] I do not know; you will have to ask him.

## Mozambique

### Chissano Addresses UN Assembly on Elections, Army

MB2809065293 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 28 Sep 93

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano has said the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] must be made to understand that it must not delay any further the holding of elections in this country. In a 27-minute address to the UN General Assembly, the Mozambican head of state spoke about Renamo's reservations concerning the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 863, which recommends that troops be confined and demobilized, that a single army be formed, and that elections be held by October 1994.

President Joaquim Chissano presented figures for the losses experienced during the 16-year war in Mozambique and estimated losses to total some \$20 billion. He added that Mozambique will continue to need international aid for a few more years.

Turning to the situation in southern Africa, the Mozambican head of state expressed concern about the prevailing situation in Angola and called for the implementation of the Bicesse Accord. With regard to South Africa, President Joaquim Chissano said he supports ongoing multiparty talks and the formation of the Transitional Executive Council. He also saluted the accord signed between Israel and the PLO in New York recently.

## Swaziland

### Nominated Ministers Through to Next Round of Elections

MB2709074993 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 27 Sep 93 pp 1, 32

[Text] Ministers who had been nominated are through to the next round of the elections. The Primary Elections

held on Saturday [25 September] have produced shocking upsets in some quarters.

In the running are Prime Minister Mr Obed Dlamini; Minister for Transport and Communications, Mr Albert Shabangu; Minister for Agriculture and Co-operatives, Mr Themba Masuku; Minister for Economic Planning and Development, Mr Solomon Dlamini as well as Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr Barnabas Mhlongo. It was still not clear last night how Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr George Mamba had fared at Ngudzeni.

Ministers who were never nominated are—Mr Senzenjani Tshabalala (Natural Resources); Mr Nkomeni Ntiwane (Broadcasting); Dr Fanny Friedman (Health); Mr Thomas Stephens (Housing) and Dr Zonke Khumalo, the Minister for Justice. The rest of the Cabinet members did not qualify for nomination because they are members of the Royal Family.

—Out goes Siteki businessman and XI Men in Flight's [football team] boss, Mr Moses Motsa who lost to Mr Philip Shile Dlamini.

—Out goes former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Shadrack Sibanyoni who lost to Consumer Association and Swaziland National Society for the Handicapped director, Mr Dumisani Masango.

—Out goes Vusela [greetings committee] member and former Private Secretary to Prince Bhekimpi, Mr Mathendele Dlamini.

—Out goes Manzini businessman, Mr Boy Motsa.

—Out goes SOCGA [Swaziland Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association] chief, Mr David Sibandze who lost to P.D. Dlamini.

—Out goes former Commissioner of Police, Mr Majaji Simelane.

—Out goes former SEDCO [Swaziland Enterprise Development Corporation] and Commercial Board chief, Sir John Fakudze.

Yesterday, soccer fans at Somhlolo Stadium were entertained by referee protector, Mr Ngoma Gamedze who boasted that he had won at the Siphofaneni Inkhundla [traditional community council center].

—Also in the running is Consumer Association chief, Mr Dumisani Masango.

—In stays outspoken former MP Mr Dzingalive Dlamini.

—In stays bank trade unionist, Mrs Winnie Magagula.

—In stays Vusela man, Mr Sam Mkhombe.

—In stays an official of the Msunduzi Committee, Mr Edward Dlamini.

This is the constituency of Esandleni.

Also out of the race is Hlathikhulu businessman, Pieter Helmuth Pieterse.

Mr Pieterse lost to Minister for Transport and Communication, Mr Albert Shabangu.

During the primary elections, Mr Pieterse arranged transport for the Hlathikhulu town residents who wanted to go and nominate at Ebenezer.

For this he was commended by the Acting Chief of the area, Mrs Gelane Zwane.

Former police chief, Mr Majaji Simelane is also out. He was contesting in the same area with Mr Shabangu, the eventual winner.

Mr Mathendele Dlamini was one of the Vusela II members who went around getting views of people on how the Tinkhundla [traditional community council centers] system, including the election process could be improved.

He was also appointed into another committee which went around the country educating people about the election procedure.

He was in the same committee together with University lecturer, Mr Majah'enkhaba Dlamini who was a candidate for the umphakatsi [chief's residency] of Nkhaba.

#### **Good Turnout at 'Peaceful' Voting**

*MB2509181893 Mbabane Radio Swaziland Network in English 1600 GMT 25 Sep 93*

[Text] Swazis went to polls today for the first time under the policy of Tinkhundla [Traditional Community Councils] system of government.

Reports from the polling stations say the secondary elections were peaceful with a good turn-up. In some places voting papers got finished. The chief electoral officer, Mr. Robert Thwala, said people left out in today's voting can vote tomorrow and confirmed that certain places had asked for reprints of voting papers.

In Mbabane a good turn-up was reported in the townships.

#### **Premier Outlines Policy Guidelines for New Government**

*MB2409192693 Mbabane Radio Swaziland Network in English 1600 GMT 24 Sep 93*

[Text] The prime minister, Mr. Obed Dlamini, outlining policy guidelines for the in-coming government, has said that there is an urgent need to review the public finance and strengthen the revenue collection mechanisms in Swaziland.

Opening the annual general meeting of the Federation of Swaziland Employers, Mr. Dlamini said for the first time in more than 5 years the government budget has recorded a deficit of over 100 million emalangenis. He said the deficit is likely to double in the next financial

year. He blamed the scenario on the world recession and the on-going drought in the region.

He further told the meeting that concerted efforts should be made to diversify and re-orient the country's industrial base so that it may be export-oriented driven with [word indistinct] and value-added goods and high technology manufacturing.

The other challenge for the in-coming government will be to improve the quality of the country's educational system in order to develop a cadre of enterprising and innovative business people who can spearhead the economic recovery.

The prime minister said in future the government will aspire to achieve self-sufficiency in food production and security, while guarding the environment and ecosystems for the benefit of future generations, and also outlined as necessary for the next government to create an enabling environment especially in the rural areas, providing those communities with adequate facilities such as schools, employment opportunities, health, and affordable housing.

#### **Council of Ministers To Dissolve 30 Sep**

*MB2809071993 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 28 Sep 93 p 1*

[Report by Gordon Mbuli]

[Text] The Council of Ministers headed by Prime Minister, Mr Obed Dlamini is to be dissolved on Thursday [30 September].

This was announced by the Chief Electoral Officer, Mr Robert Thwala at Nkhanini yesterday. He said by the Council of Ministers, the King has revoked the Legislation Procedure Decree of 1992 when the Council was appointed to run the country with him. [as published] This was after His Majesty had disbanded Parliament.

Mr Thwala said dissolving the Council means ministers who are standing for the elections would concentrate on them. He said this has also been done so that the ministers do not have an unfair advantage on the other candidates.

He said the ministers who are standing for elections are now to be treated as ordinary members of the public at the polling stations. Campaigning for the elections begins this weekend.

Mr Thwala did not want to comment when asked how the country is to be run without government. Only six of the present Cabinet members stand a chance of coming back after the October 11 elections. These include Prime Minister, Mr Obed Dlamini. The other ministers are: Mr Solomon Dlamini (Economic Planning), Mr Themba Masuku (Agriculture), Mr Barnabas Mhlango, (Commerce), Mr Albert Shabangu, (Transport), and Mr George Mamba (Foreign Affairs).

## Benin

### Soglo Returns From Trip, Comments on CFA Devaluation

*AB2709224193 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-  
Television du Benin Radio in French 2115 GMT  
26 Sep 93*

[Excerpt] Head of State President Nicephore Soglo returned to Cotonou today at dawn. His three-week stay in Paris and Bonn enabled him to meet officially with French and German officials to discuss bilateral cooperation. Regional politics featured prominently in the discussions. Commenting on the controversial issue currently rocking the franc zone, Nicephore Soglo said that there are no plans yet to devalue the CFA franc. However, he strongly believes in partnership with some countries and in concluding an adjustment agreement with the Bretton Woods institutions. President Nicephore Soglo was speaking this morning with Jean Okpayate:

[Begin recording] [Soglo] I think a crucial turning point has been reached. For African countries, we are somehow reminded of the La Baule Declaration which mapped out the framework for democratization in the area of France-Africa relations. The letter we received from the French prime minister clearly shows every franc zone member that henceforth those countries which do not agree with the IMF will no longer benefit from France's economic adjustment loans. I think the message could not have been any clearer, and I will come back to that at a conference with you and with the nation, because we have always said that we rule with the nation and the people in handling political and economic issues and that we are not self-deluding merchants. I think today's developments show that governance means foresight. Benin embarked on this path before everyone else and we in this country have heard quite a number of demagogues, but I will not go into polemics here...

[Okpayate, interrupting] On the home front now, Mr. President of the Republic, you reshuffled your cabinet just a few hours to your departure.

[Soglo] That's right.

[Okpayate] Parliament did not like the method you adopted one bit.

[Soglo] Is that so?

[Okpayate] Reporters did not have time to contact you for explanations and justifications [words indistinct]. Could you please comment on this issue?

[Soglo] I think the Constitution is very clear. Before I left [pause] well, I would like to explain that a bit. You know how my schedule looked: I presided over meetings of the Economic Community of West African States. There were events taking place in the subregion. I had to receive not only the prime minister of Cote d'Ivoire, but also a delegation led by the Nigerian foreign minister. It was against this background that I also had to carry out

lengthy consultations with other organizations and various personalities with a view to forming my cabinet. Indeed, I had the opportunity to tell the speaker of the National Assembly, telling him that I [words indistinct]. The Constitution simply says that I need to seek the advisory opinion of the (?speaker) of the house, which I did, and (?I was told the assembly could not reach) the quorum required. I could not put off my trip because of that. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## Ghana

### Rawlings Discusses Transition With Sierra Leonean Team

*AB2709230493 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation  
Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] The president, Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings, today held discussions with a five-man Sierra Leonean delegation, led by the deputy chairman of the National Provisional Ruling Council, Captain Julius Bio, at the Castle, Osu. The discussions covered how Ghana could assist Sierra Leone during her transition to constitutional rule.

Mr. Kwamena Ahwoi, minister of local government and rural development, briefing President Rawlings, said meetings have been arranged between the Sierra Leonean delegation and officials of the National Electoral Commission, the economic management team of the government, and officials of the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development.

The secretary general of the National Provisional Ruling Council of Sierra Leone, Mr. John Benjamin, said his country faces a number of problems in its quest for constitutional rule. Inadequate resources to conduct the elections, he said, are the main problem. He said Sierra Leone will have to rely on its meager resources as well as advice and expertise from sisterly countries such as Ghana. Mr. Benjamin was hopeful that his country will benefit from understudying Ghana's transition to constitutional rule.

### Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Readmits Country

*AB2509210593 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation  
Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 25 Sep 93*

[Excerpt] Ghana has been readmitted into the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association [CPA] and the Inter-parliamentary Conference. This was disclosed to the GBC [Ghana Broadcasting Corporation] by the minister for parliamentary affairs, Mr. J.H. Owusu-Acheampong, leader of Ghana's delegation to the 39th conference of the CPA held in Cyprus. He said the readmission of Ghana was received with a standing ovation. Mr. Owusu-Acheampong said the speaker of the parliament of Cyprus expressed the hope that the readmission of Ghana would help promote the principles and objectives of the CPA. [passage omitted]

## Mali

### Government Spokesman Assures Against CFA Devaluation

AB2409122093 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 1500 GMT 23 Sep 93

[Excerpts] Acting government spokesman Cheikna Kamissako met the media this morning for his weekly news briefing. Sory Ibrahim Keita has the details:

[Keita] [passage omitted] The meeting focused on the austerity measures taken by the government, the devaluation of the CFA franc, and African-French cooperation. As for the persistent rumors on the devaluation of the CFA franc following the meeting between France and member countries of the West African Monetary Union [UMOA] in Abidjan, the government spokesman assured that the CFA franc will not be devalued, at least not right now.

To substantiate his statement, Mr. Kamissako said, without any further details, that there is still a dynamic force within the franc zone system which justifies a devaluation less and less. The Abidjan meeting was simply aimed at reviewing the measures taken both by UMOA member countries and France. [passage omitted]

## Nigeria

### Abiola Says Shonekan Military 'Tool,' Backs Free Media

AB2809134393 Paris AFP in English 1239 GMT 28 Sep 93

[Text] Lagos, Sept 28 (AFP)—Moshood Abiola, the presumed winner of Nigeria's annulled presidential elections, has launched his national campaign for office, calling the current interim ruler a tool of the military. "(Ernest) Shonekan is a soldier disguised in mufti (civilian dress)," Abiola said late Monday [27 September] of the businessman installed by outgoing junta leader General Ibrahim Babangida before he stood down as president on August 26.

Abiola, a Moslem millionaire from the Yoruba southwest, told enthusiastic supporters at Benin City in the region's Edo State that Shonekan's government was "illegitimate," the independent Nigerian Tribune daily reported Tuesday.

The Social Democratic Party (SDP) candidate, said to have won the June 12 elections on unofficial results before the junta annulled the poll, declared that Babangida had failed to quell the resistance of the people and said that Shonekan would likewise not succeed.

In his visit to Benin City, Abiola also reconciled himself with SDP national chairman Tony Anenih, whom he had earlier accused of playing into the hands of the army-installed authorities who plan to hold a new election next February. "Now that you are back, our great party will

continue to strive in strength and demand its rights," Anenih said, according to press reports.

Abiola returned to Nigeria last Friday after leaving the country early in August, citing death threats, and traveling to the United States and Europe to seek to drum up support in the international community.

Speaking in the commercial capital Lagos on Monday, Abiola said one of the first measures any government of his would take would be the privatisation of the state-owned media. "There cannot be freedom in any country without press freedom," he told a gathering at the Sheraton Hotel in Ikeja north of Lagos, where he founded a fund in support of workers at six papers shut down by the junta.

Abiola, a media tycoon himself whose Concord group of titles were among those closed, said that if necessary he would sell his house and his last shirt to ensure that the workers were paid and made a large donation to the fund.

The meeting was attended by two leading opponents of military rule, both recently freed from jail by Shonekan, lawyers Femi Falana and Gani Fawehinmi. They are members of the umbrella Campaign for Democracy (CD), grouping about 40 human rights and pro-democracy organisations. The CD has called for three days of demonstrations from Wednesday to force the Shonekan government to hand over power to "the winner of the June 12 election."

Babangida, who alleged irregularities in the poll although international observers said it had been fair, had been in power for eight years after a palace coup against a previous military regime.

Lagos State police chief Isaac Akinmoyede warned that police have orders to act firmly against protestors who disturb public order, press reports said Tuesday. Police would act "within the ambit of the law" to deal with any person or group that engaged in any "illegal demonstration to cause chaos," he said.

According to police cited by the independent GUARDIAN newspaper, pro-democracy activists "are like fungi that thrive on putrefying substrate, only exploiting the situation to their own gain." Police also accused them of causing "untold hardship" to the masses whom they claimed to be protecting.

CD chairman Beko Ransome-Kuti last Friday warned police in an open letter that the movement would hold them responsible for any incidents arising from the use of force against demonstrators and said they had no right to ban protest. On September 18, police violently dispersed the latest CD demonstration in favour of Abiola and made 21 arrests.



## Social Democratic Party Legislators Hold Conference

### Some Members Refuse To Attend

*AB2409214793 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 24 Sep 93*

[Text] A group of SDP [Social Democratic Party] members in the House of Representatives, including chairmen of six various house committees, has advised all elected party members to disregard an invitation for a meeting of elected party members and elders by Senate president, Dr. Iyorchia Ayu, scheduled for tomorrow at the party's Secretariat at Ogba, Lagos. Insinuating an ulterior motive on the part of the Senate president for calling the meeting, the SDP representatives told a news conference in Abuja that the invitation for the purported meeting contravenes the SDP's constitution. Correspondent Mohamed Labo reports.

[Begin recording] [Labo] For the SDP representatives, Mr. (Davidson Opokey) said the group's call on all elected party members not to attend the meeting scheduled for tomorrow was predicated with its respect for duly constituted party organs as provided for in the SDP constitution. He explained that by calling the meeting, the Senate president has misrepresented the scope of his personal and official authority and has encroached on the responsibility of the party organ.

[(Opokey)] We are gravely disturbed by this action of the Senate president which has the effect of eroding the hitherto solid support, which cuts across ethnic, religious, and sectional divides enjoyed by the SDP nationwide. The motive, timing, venue of the purported meeting is suspect. We condemn the move and declare our support for the actions of the National Executive of the Social Democratic Party.

[Labo] Mr. (Opokey) enjoined all party members to heed the party national executive's call not to attend the meeting. [end recording]

Meanwhile, the Senate president, Dr. Iyorchia Ayu, has described as most unfortunate the misgivings expressed in certain quarters as regards the conference of SDP office holders scheduled to begin tomorrow in Lagos. In a press release issued in Lagos today, Dr. Ayu said the convening of the conference is [word indistinct] by the need in Nigeria today for constant dialogue, especially within and between the two political parties. Dr. Ayu explained that the bringing together of key political leaders to dialogue with each other is not a constitutional or legal issue. He expressed the belief that broadbased democratic consultation and leadership cannot be

replaced by command and control type of politics, especially in a party as the SDP.

### Senate President Addresses Group

*AB2609160193 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English 1030 GMT 26 Sep 93*

[Text] Dr. Iyorchia Ayu, the Senate president, has emphasized the need for every member of the Social Democratic Party to come together and resolve their differences. Dr. Ayu was speaking at the opening of a two-day conference of elected office holders of the party. He said all factions of the party must unite to resolve the present political impasse in the country.

The Senate president said the purpose of the conference was to encourage dialogue among party members as the only solution to the crisis occasioned by the annulment of the 12 June presidential election. He said the party had gone beyond ethnic or religious differences, adding that the return of the party's flag bearer in the 12 June election, Chief M.K.O. Abiola, will help to facilitate a solution to the current crisis.

Also speaking, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe, the vice presidential candidate in the annulled election, said that all party members had a collective responsibility to salvage the country.

### Appeal to Abiola for Dialogue

*AB2709201393 Paris AFP in French 1555 GMT 27 Sep 93*

[Text] Lagos, 27 Sep (AFP)—Nigerian newspapers report that Social Democratic Party (SDP—progressive) parliamentarians have called on Moshood Abiola to form a national union government and hold a dialogue with all sides, including with the leaders of the various political parties.

In a communique issued at the end of a meeting of SDP legislators in Akure, the Ondo State (west) capital, over the weekend, the parliamentarians asked Moshood Abiola, the self-declared winner of the 12 June presidential election annulled by the Army, to hold discussions with the leaders of the National Assembly and all those "whose opinion will be of interest" to search for a solution to the current political crisis.

The communique also asked him to find a means of forming a national government "with a broad base that can reassure those who are afraid of being excluded from a government that he would head or which the SDP would control."

Moshood Abiola spoke about his intention to be "patient, tolerant, and ready to pardon and hold dialogue with those he would have to speak with."

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